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THE LIFE OF THE
MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN
AND AVA

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WITH KITCHENER TO KHARTUM.	<i>G. W. Stevens.</i>
THE UNVEILING OF LHASA.	<i>Edmund Candler.</i>

Others to follow.





THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA.

From the Picture by Henrietta Rae.

The Life of the
Marquis of
Dufferin and Ava

BY
SIR ALFRED LYALL, P.C.



THOMAS NELSON & SONS
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AND NEW YORK

PREFACE.

THE original materials for this biography have been supplied to me, almost entirely, by Harriot Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, at whose request I ventured to undertake it ; on the understanding that the whole responsibility for the work would be assumed by the writer. In the arrangement and examination of her late husband's papers and correspondence, which Lady Dufferin placed unreservedly at my disposal, I have received from her the most kindly and valuable assistance throughout. I am also indebted to her for advice on various points, and for additional information whenever it was required.

Mr. William Campbell, who was at one time Lord Dufferin's private secretary, has rendered me important aid in sifting and selecting from the very large collection of papers at Clandeboye ; and Mr. J. L. Patisson, who had been long connected with the management of Lord Dufferin's property, has been good enough to let me consult him occasionally. I desire to render to them my* full acknowledgment of the help that has thus been given to me.

The volumes of Lord Dufferin's Journal, which he kept up (though not continuously) for many years, have been of much service to me in tracing the

incidents of his daily life and occupations. The records of his official correspondence for the periods of his two Governor Generalships in Canada and especially in India are complete ; and the letters and despatches written by him from his four embassies, at St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Rome, and Paris, have been well preserved ; though in dealing with confidential documents of this latter class, it has been obviously necessary to exercise considerable discretion. To the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Spencer, the late Earl of Northbrook, the Marquis of Ripon, Earl Roberts, Lord Cross, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir Arthur Godley, and Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace—all of whom were from time to time in official relations with Lord Dufferin—I am under much obligation for their kind permission to me to make use of certain papers, and of some of the letters written by them to Lord Dufferin ; also to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and Sir Robert Herbert for access to correspondence with the late Earl Granville and the late Earl of Carnarvon. Mr. John Morley, acting upon authority vested in him by the family, has allowed me to insert several letters from Mr. W. E. Gladstone.

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to authorize the insertion of a few extracts from Lord Dufferin's correspondence with Queen Victoria.

With regard to sources of supplementary information bearing on Lord Dufferin's private life—Lord de Ros and the Dean of Durham (Dr. Kitchin) are

now, I think, the sole survivors of those who were intimate with him in his youth; and their contributions to the first period of this biography have been therefore most welcome. Lady Wantage has kindly given me a note of her very early reminiscences of Lord Dufferin. Other friends, or representatives of his friends not now living, have been so good as to permit me to make occasional use of letters written to Lord Dufferin, and have in some instances sent me letters from him which were in their possession. On this account I owe many thanks to Lady Amptill, Lady Arthur Russell, Lady Cynthia Graham, Lady Dorothy Nevill, Lady Harcourt, Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe, Lady Gregory, Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Barrett Browning, Sir Charles Tupper, and Sir Richard Garnett. I have also had the privilege of seeing many letters written by Lord Dufferin to his daughter, Lady Helen Munro Ferguson.

Lastly, I have to offer my thanks to Sir Henry Mortimer Durand,* Sir Charles Hardinge,† and Mr. Robert Kennedy,‡ who have contributed to the biography some very interesting personal recollections of service with Lord Dufferin.

A. C. L.

1905.

* British ambassador at Washington.

† British ambassador at St. Petersburg.

‡ British minister in Montenegro.

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THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY HISTORY.

IN an unfinished memoir, which contains no personal recollections later than the time of his boyhood, Lord Dufferin has put together all that he had collected by diligent research regarding the original stem and branches of his family. The earliest record of the Blackwoods he discovered in a deed witnessed by John de Blackwode at Morpeth in 1386; and the name occurs frequently in the subsequent registers of towns and parishes, mostly in the southern counties of Scotland, during the two following centuries. Whether the Blackwoods there mentioned came all from the same stock is not ascertainable; but it seems certain that from the fifteenth century one family of them held lands and had become entitled to bear arms in Fife, while others had been burgesses and civic dignitaries in Dunfermline, Perth, and elsewhere. We know, at any rate, that from the Fife lairds came Adam Blackwood, the first of his name who made a reputation in the world as a leading figure among those enterprising Scotsmen for whom in the sixteenth century their native country was too narrow, and who crossed the sea to try their fortune in France, where many of them found, then and thereafter, employment and an honourable career.

Adam Blackwood's father had been killed at the battle of Pinkie Cleuch in 1547, and his mother died—of grief, it is said—soon afterwards. He seems to have been taken under the protection of his great-uncle, the Bishop of Orkney; he was educated at Paris, and it was probably through the influence of Cardinal Beaton, who was his friend, that Mary Stuart, then Queen of France, placed him in charge of her domains in Poitou, where he founded a family among the provincial noblesse, of which the last female descendant, Scholastique Gailard de Blackwood, died so recently as in 1837. A catalogue of Adam Blackwood's writings, in prose and poetry, is given at the end of an article upon him in the *Biographie Universelle*. He died in 1613.

It is a received tradition in Lord Dufferin's family, supported by the discovery that, with a slight difference, their armorial bearings are identical with those of the Poitou branch, that John Blackwood of Bangor, who is the direct ancestor of the Irish line, was nearly related by kinship to Adam. The date of John Blackwood's birth in Scotland (1591) is recorded on his tombstone in Bangor churchyard; for he made Ireland, instead of France, his field of adventure; and he must have been one of the numerous Scottish immigrants who came over during the reign of James I. to Ulster, where he made money, probably by trading, and bought a property. His will shows that he had acquired lands, which he devised to his heirs; and his epitaph in Bangor church describes him as Merchant and Provost of Bangor—

“ . . . a man who lived of late
 Into a flourishing estate,
 A sober, just and ephald * man;
 And though his life was but a span,
 Yet it so blameless was that he
 Deserves a lasting memory.”

On his death in 1663 the property passed to his son,

* Ephald, or Effauld = afold, or anefold = Honest, without duplicity. Northern dialect. (Cf. Simplex = *sine plica*.)

who made substantial additions by purchase ; while under the third John Blackwood, who married a Hamilton, the estate was again considerably enlarged. His son and successor, Robert Blackwood, was created a baronet in 1763, and lies buried in the grounds of Clandeboy ; he left eighteen children, one of whom, a daughter, died, aged 93, in 1833, some years after Lord Dufferin, the subject of this memoir, was born. Sir Robert's eldest son, Sir John, married the granddaughter of James Hamilton, heir general of the Earls of Clanbrassil, Viscounts Clandeboy, who brought into the family possessions one half of the castle and town of Killyleagh, together with the park, and an estate in the barony of Dufferin. He was returned in 1761 to the Irish Parliament for the borough of Killyleagh, which was thereafter continuously represented by the Blackwoods up to the Union in 1801 ; and the story has been handed down that Sir John was just starting to vote against the Union in Dublin, when he died suddenly in the act of pulling on his boots for the journey. At any rate, he was proof against the overtures made by the Government for the purchase of his support by a peerage. "Your crest," said an emissary from the Castle, who was examining the plate on his dinner-table, "is a very pretty one, but would be improved by a coronet." "The motto," replied Sir John, "'Per vias rectas,' has escaped your notice." During the rebellion of 1798 there was a rising in County Down, which was joined by a few of the Blackwood tenantry, and some of the rebels visited Clandeboy * House. Sir John had gone to Belfast, and a few days later the insurrection was crushed in this part of the country by the battle of Ballynahinch. Lord Dufferin has noted in his memoir some local particulars that he learnt from an old man who had been an eyewitness of what occurred in the neighbourhood, and could

* At that time the house was known as Ballyleidy ; and this name continued until Frederick Lord Dufferin changed it to Clandeboy. But it is named Clandeboy throughout this biography. See Appendix to this chapter.

tell of the flogging and hanging that followed the suppression of the revolt.

"After the battle a court-martial was established in Newtownards. Six of the leaders were sentenced to death—the Rev. Mr. Warwick, Mr. Culvert of Grey Abbey, McKnight and Delop of Bangor, the Rev. Mr. Porter of Grey Abbey, and Mr. Wilson of Conlig. Wilson was hanged on Conlig Hill, not, I think, on the spot where the Tower now stands, but where the Little Clandeboye plantation now is."

Sir John had seven sons and four daughters. One daughter married Mr. Dallas, subsequently Sir George Dallas, who, after serving in the Indian Army, retired to become an active supporter at home of Warren Hastings, whose leading counsel at the famous trial was Robert Dallas, brother to George. It was to the memory of Sir Peter Parker, Sir George's grandson, killed in action at the storming of the American camp near Baltimore in 1814, that Byron, his first cousin, wrote the elegaic stanzas beginning—

"There is a tear for all that die."

Of Robert Blackwood, Sir John's eldest son, Lord Dufferin relates that he lost his life by an accident precisely similar to that by which James III. of Scotland came to his death in his flight after the battle of Sauchie Burn. As Robert was riding through Comber, a woman flung a pail of water into a pool before her door, when the horse shied violently and threw his rider, who was killed on the spot. James, the second son, to whom the inheritance thereby passed, had served in the army, had acted as aide-de-camp to General Needham during the rebellion of 1798, had raised a corps of volunteer cavalry, and commanded a regiment of the county militia—a choleric yet kind-hearted gentleman, with a reputation for courage and humanity. One story of him relates how, when he was parading some mounted troops on service against the insurgents, a disaffected

soldier in the ranks aimed a pistol at him. He wrested it from the man's hand, but withdrew the charge, and made over an unloaded pistol to the authorities, in order that the intention of firing it should not be in evidence, whereby the offender was saved from a capital sentence on trial. In 1800 a peerage was offered to him as an honourable and consistent supporter of the Union; but he hesitated about accepting it, so the honour was eventually conferred on his mother, the heir general (as has been said) of the first Viscount Clandeboyne. When he succeeded, as Lord Dufferin, to the title in 1808, he was elected a representative peer of Ireland, and voted in the English Parliament with the Tories until his death in 1836. He left a reputation of much intelligence and liberality; he built schools on the estate, constructed a pier for the town of Killyleagh, and endeavoured to establish the manufacture of linen. His wife, who was daughter of the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, died, aged 95, about the year 1865.

To James Lord Dufferin succeeded his brother Hans, who died after holding the title three years. It is recorded of him that he had a magnificent capacity for carrying deep potations without exhibiting the slightest discomposure of mind or body; nor indeed did they affect his health, since he begat eight children and lived for eighty-one years, the patriarch of a hard-drinking generation. Another brother, John, appears to have taken the course, not uncommon among younger scions of the landed gentry, of entering the Church without any overpowering vocation for Holy Orders—an eccentric, humorous man, who, after losing his first wife in 1803, married again "in June of the same year;" of whom it is also related that he called upon Lord Melbourne with a request for a bishopric, but failed to satisfy that not very straitlaced minister touching certain rumours that were inconsistent with the sanctity of episcopal office. But the fourth brother, Henry, became a distinguished naval officer, the type and model of those intrepid and consummate seamen who commanded our

warships in Nelson's day—one whose services are commemorated in the naval histories, and whose daring exploits more than once won him special praise from the great admiral.

“Several particulars” (Lord Dufferin writes) “of him are related in a pamphlet or little book called ‘Seadrift,’ by Admiral Robinson, who went to sea as a Midshipman with him. Robinson was Mid of the boat which carried him with a flag of truce into Cadiz just before the battle of Trafalgar, and amongst other things he says, ‘How well I remember, as I followed Blackwood to the Governor’s, how the slovenly swarthy Spaniards appeared to admire the beauty of his person and his faultless costume. He was rather short, but of extraordinary strength and finely made, well set up, a fresh complexion, and small hands and feet. His dress was a gold-laced cocked hat, gold-laced coat and epaulettes, white trousers and Hessian boots, a light crooked sabre, and a great shirt-frill which was at that time the fashion.’ ”

In the memoir with which Lord Dufferin has prefaced his published collection of Helen Lady Dufferin’s poems, he relates the story, well known in naval annals, of Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Blackwood’s engagement, in the *Penelope*, 36-gun frigate, with a French line-of-battle ship, the *Guillaume Tell*, which carried 80 guns. The *Guillaume Tell* had slipped out of Malta, then blockaded by the English fleet; and the *Penelope* started in hot pursuit. She followed the French ship all night, keeping close astern and raking her, without once giving the man-of-war a chance of delivering the broadside that would probably have sunk the frigate by a single discharge. On these tactics Sir Henry handled his ship with such consummate seamanship that by daylight the *Guillaume Tell* lay crippled with broken masts, until the arrival of superior English forces compelled the French admiral to surrender.

Sir Henry Blackwood commanded the frigate squadron when the English fleet was lying off Trafalgar; and with his light ships he watched the combined fleets of

France and Spain in Cadiz harbour, while Nelson kept his men-of-war out of sight in order to draw the enemy from their anchorage. How he performed this duty may be gathered from another passage in Admiral Robinson's book.

"This great battle" (we read) "was brought on by the exertions and watchfulness of Sir Henry Blackwood, who was singularly unboastful, and I do not think there was a man in the fleet who said less about his doings than himself. Nor in praising Blackwood could any jealousy be produced."

The log of the *Euryalus*, Sir Henry Blackwood's ship, has been printed by the Navy Records Society, as containing "a complete history of the battle of Trafalgar, and of the events which preceded and followed the action. The *Euryalus* was more than other ships in a position to see the varied incidents of the fight, and the movements of particular vessels." * On the evening before the battle, Lord Nelson had telegraphed to Blackwood that he firmly relied on his keeping sight of the enemy during the night. Blackwood transmitted to Nelson the first intimation that the enemy's

* This is how the opening scene was described, minute by minute, from the deck of the *Euryalus*. The bare facts stir up in the imagination a vivid picture by the artistic force of simplicity and precision.

"Light winds and hazy. At 12.15 the British fleet bearing down on the enemy, Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson leading the weather line in the *Victory*, and Vice-Admiral Collingwood on the lee line. At 12.15 the enemy opened a heavy fire on the *Royal Collingwood*. At 12.16 the English admirals hoisted their respective flags, and the British fleet the white British ensign. At 12.17 Admiral Collingwood returned their fire in a brave and steady manner. At 12.20 we repeated Lord Nelson's signal for the British fleet to engage close, which was answered by the whole fleet. At 12.21 the van and centre of the enemy's line opened a heavy fire upon the *Victory* and the ships she was leading on. At 12.22 Admiral Collingwood and the headmost ships of his line broke through the rear of the enemy, where the action commenced in a most severe and determined manner. At 12.24 Lord Nelson and the foremost of the line he led into action broke into the van and centre of the enemy's line, and commenced the action in that quarter. . . . At 3 Captain Blackwood was hailed by Admiral Collingwood, and ordered to go on board the *Santa Anna*, Spanish three-deck ship, and bring him the admiral, which Captain Blackwood obeyed."

fleet was putting to sea, and early on the morning of October 21 he was summoned on board the *Victory* to receive the admiral's instructions. After the battle Admiral Villeneuve was put on board the *Euryalus*. Writing to his wife on Friday, October 25, 1805, Sir Henry says—

“The French Commander-in-chief is at this moment at my elbow: he was brought hither yesterday from one of our ships, and I hope and believe from what transpired last night that I shall carry him and the two other captive admirals to England.”

It was the *Euryalus* that brought home Lord Nelson's body to England.*

Robert, the eldest son of Hans Lord Dufferin, served in the army during the Peninsular war, but was invalided home for a severe wound received at the storming of Badajoz, where he lay for hours among the dead and dying. He had sent in his papers for retirement, when on the news of Napoleon's return from Elba he set off instantly to rejoin his regiment, arrived on the field of Waterloo early in the morning of June 18, and was killed by one of the first cannon-balls that began the battle.

William, one of the younger sons, took Orders and held two livings, a man of strong sense and decisive temper, very fond of horses, and greatly respected by his parishioners. It appears that, like his uncle John, he may have had some aspirations toward a bishopric, and that after some years in the Church he relinquished his benefice, the path of clerical duty being evidently not the right road to glory for the Blackwoods.

Another junior brother, Henry, first a cavalry officer, and latterly a Queen's messenger, who travelled to all the European capitals, was killed by the fall of his horse over a rope stretched across a track on Newmarket heath.

The two elder sons of Hans Lord Dufferin had died before their father; so Price Blackwood, his third son,

* So it is stated in Lord Dufferin's memoirs. But it seems certain that Lord Nelson's body was landed at Portsmouth from the *Victory*.

became heir to the baronage. Like so many of his family, he had joined the navy; and in the miniature portrait of him at Clandeboye he carries a sword given to him by the Imam of Muscat, probably in acknowledgment of some exploit on the shores of the Persian Gulf, for he bore the marks of some injury to his eye, received in leading an attack against a fort in those waters. His son, Lord Dufferin, remembered him as prematurely grey-haired, with a thin face, short in stature but very strongly made; and Mrs. Ward, his half-sister, wrote long afterwards that he was a "thorough sailor, frank and open, the soul of honour, with the kindest heart I ever knew, no knowledge of the world or literary cleverness, having gone to sea very young, and having been constantly employed out of England, so that he had very little education." This is the description of Price Blackwood in 1825, when he had returned to England with the inheritance in prospect, and was passing a season in London at the house of his uncle, who wished him to go into society on the understanding that he should marry a sensible girl, with a well-regulated mind, good connections, and some money. What he did was to fall deeply in love with Miss Helen Sheridan, seventeen years of age, abundantly beautiful and clever, but in matter of worldly goods very scantily endowed, and to marry her on an annual income of £500; to the resentful disappointment of his father and mother, whose opposition to the engagement had been very plainly signified to him.

It is hardly necessary to explain that this brief account of Lord Dufferin's predecessors and their kinsfolk has not been sketched in merely to serve as an introductory chronicle. One chief interest in such genealogical details, for a biography, is derived, I think, from the clue that may be found in them for tracing the transmission of hereditary character, or the influence of descent. At the beginning of his unfinished memoir Lord Dufferin states this to have been his principal object in writing it—

"I have observed both in myself and in my children, as well as in various other members of my family, mental characteristics, physical likenesses, intonations of the voice, and habits, which have reproduced in a startling manner what I had observed in previous generations of the family. The extraordinary distinction which has marked the Sheridan family during a period of two hundred years is an illustration of what I mean; and the peculiar turn of my mother's wit was essentially akin to that of her grandfather. . . . If, then, not only our bodies but our souls are emanations from a multifarious past, it becomes interesting to know something of those predecessors who have infused a portion of their natures, talents, weaknesses, tastes and predilections into our nature, and who thus live again in us, and, in combination with what we contribute, prolong their influence into the beings of our children and their descendants."

In Lord Dufferin himself we have a notable example of the blending of hereditary qualities, with a preponderance, one may say, of those derived from his mother's side. In his parentage we have the crossing of the lines of two families, each belonging to a type so different from the other as to be almost a contrast, with distinctive characteristics clearly marked through several generations. John Blackwood of Bangor, the paternal ancestor, must have possessed the qualities of courage, prudence, and vigorous ability that usually make successful emigrants in troubled times, and that lie at the base of the colonization and commerce which have founded the British empire in much more distant countries than Ireland. The stock planted by him in County Down took root and flourished; his descendants were stout-hearted country gentlemen after his kind, bred of a race and on a soil that have reared and sent out from Northern Ireland some very remarkable men of action, who have served the British empire with great distinction in various parts of the world. The Blackwoods so managed their affairs as to rise steadily in wealth and reputation, improving their estate by good sense and sagacity, by advantageous marriages, by

caution in politics and a conservative temper generally : they followed the course by which the land-owning class has consistently maintained its solid influence and social preponderance in this country, taking an effective share in the government, and constantly reinforcing the peerage. They had, almost all of them, numerous children, who found congenial vocations in active hardy professions, especially in that most adventurous of all English services, the British navy ; they were of the unflinching sort in hardship or danger. So far as can be known, most of them had received the very imperfect education of country gentlemen ; nor had any of them shown any concern or aptitude for art or literature.

The Sheridans belonged to another class, with very dissimilar antecedents and traditions. Like the Blackwoods, they were of Irish origin, with hereditary characteristics no less plainly accentuated, but of a different variety ; and the narrative of their fortunes, what they did and how they fared, runs in a separate channel. Their history is well known, and for their leading representatives it has been often written, nor has any English family provided better materials for amusing biography. It is pervaded by a flavour that may truly be called racy, because through successive generations the Sheridans preserved, to a rare and remarkable degree, the vivacious qualities of a race endowed by nature with striking attractiveness of person and manner, with lively wits and intelligence, with high-spirited, uncalculating generosity ; while even their faults were of a kind that amazed or amused stiff and serious English folk, so that some excesses were easily condoned. Their follies, like their virtues, had a light and sparkling element that brightened up a society somewhat overshadowed by decorum and common sense ; their naughty deeds shone in a good-natured world. In politics and oratory, in the drama and on the stage, in humorous literature and social gaiety, the Sheridans, men and women, held notable places for nearly two centuries ; and through what they did, said, or wrote, ran a disregard of commonplace con-

ventionality, an incapacity for money-making amounting sometimes to reckless extravagance, which stood out in relief against ordinary English habits and idiosyncrasies, and were proportionately attractive. In the seventeenth century, Thomas Sheridan, Papist and Jacobite, was accused of complicity with the Popish plots; but whatever may have been the truth of this charge, he gained his acquittal by proving that he had eleven times taken the oath of Conformity. His son, the next Thomas, Swift's friend and versifying correspondent, lost his benefice in the Church because, being one of the Irish Viceroy's chaplains, he selected for his sermon on Queen Anne's birthday the text, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The third Thomas, warm-hearted, impulsive, and profuse, was an excellent actor, who found a pleasant road to ruin in the management of his theatre; the friend of Garrick, Dr. Johnson, and Samuel Richardson. And the distinction, for good or for ill, of the family culminated in the genius of his son, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose life, ways, and achievements are so thoroughly familiar to every one that it is only necessary, for the purpose of this biography, to repeat here that he married Eliza Linley, for whom he fought twice before he ran away with her. In the "Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds" we have her picture—

"Another beautiful sitter of this year [1779] was Eliza, the youthful wife of R. B. Sheridan. Her exquisite and delicate loveliness, all the more fascinating for the tender sadness which seemed, as a contemporary describes it, to project over her the shadow of an early death; her sweet voice, and the pathetic expression of her singing; the timid and touching grace of her air and deportment, had won universal admiration for Eliza Ann Linley. Lovers and wooers flooded about her. . . . In London, when she sang at Covent Garden in 1773, the King is said to have been fascinated as much by her eyes and voice as by the music of his favourite Handel. From all this homage Miss Linley had withdrawn to share love in a cottage with Sheridan at East Barnham, after a run-away match in

March 1772, and after her husband had fought two duels in her cause."

After Sheridan's death, one who knew him well wrote that "he had a spirit free from envy or malice, and a heart in which there was no hard spot."

Richard Sheridan's son Thomas, though he made no mark in the world, is remembered in a shadowy way for his good looks, agreeable manners, sprightly conversation, and for the hereditary gift of repartee, which must have found ample exercise in the dramatic dialogues of a very irregular household. Richard once said to his son, by way of paternal rebuke for some misdeed, "Do you suppose that my father would ever have allowed me to do such a thing?" Whereupon Thomas replied indignantly, "Sir, do you dare to compare your father with my father?"

Thomas Sheridan, being consumptive, accepted some appointment at the Cape of Good Hope, where the climate was thought good for his malady, but there he died in a short time. He had married a daughter of Sir James Callander, and at his death the widow found herself left with seven children and a very small income. On her return to England with her daughter Helen (afterwards Lady Dufferin), she was given apartments at Hampton Court, and there she occupied herself first with the education and latterly with the marriage of her three daughters, fulfilling both duties, as events proved, with eminent success. Her favourite son Charles was secretary to the British embassy in Paris, where he died early. Her eldest son Brinsley* eloped to Gretna Green with an heiress, Miss Grant, an event which (Lord Dufferin writes) "caused a great sensation in London society, and Lady Jersey, Mrs. Sheridan's intimate friend, who could have found a husband for Miss Grant among her own kith and kin, never forgave my grandmother.

* "Yesterday I dined with the Nortons; it was her eldest brother's birthday, who, she says, is 'the only respectable one of the family, and that is because he has a liver complaint.'"—Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister, 1832-1852, p. 16.

George Bentinck was one of the principal promoters of the flight, and I believe he took the lynch-pins out of Sir Colquhoun Grant's carriage as he was starting in pursuit." Brinsley's sisters were the three famous beauties—Lady Seymour, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, Mrs. Norton, and Mrs. Blackwood, who became Lady Dufferin, and was Frederick Lord Dufferin's mother.

In the preface to his published memoir of Helen Lady Dufferin, Lord Dufferin has drawn the portrait of a mother for whom he felt nothing less than adoration, has related the principal incidents of her life, and has added his personal reminiscences of her two sisters. It is unnecessary, therefore, to enlarge here upon the parts played by these three brilliant women in the world of their day; and to do so would be a divergence from the direct course of this narrative. But the life of Lady Dufferin was closely bound up, until her death, with love and care for her only child, born so early in her youth that he could clearly remember her coming of age; her influence on the development of his character up to manhood was as powerful as it was good, wise, and tenderly appreciated; her constant vigilance and solicitude were repaid by his entire confidence and affection; so that their interests were inseparable so long as she lived; and her letters to him throw valuable light on the prevailing thoughts, feelings, and intellectual tendencies generally of his boyhood and early years.

Such was the lady who brought the mercurial Sheridan blood into the Blackwood family, and met at first with a somewhat frigid reception from her husband's parents. Lord and Lady Dufferin had been accustomed to the solid, dignified habits of a county aristocracy; they spent many months of each winter among their neighbours at Clandeboye in a round of old-fashioned hospitality, with occasional visits to London. Mrs. Ward, Price Blackwood's half-sister, has left some recollections of "large parties of county magnates, grand and dull; many, indeed most of them, what we should now call

very queer people," and she has given a lively description of the situation produced by her brother's marriage—

"It seems to me necessary to give you an idea of the scene upon which your mother in all her beauty and brilliancy burst. She belonged to another world. She was amazed at the ways and ideas she met with all round, but I anticipate—— In 1825 your father went to spend the season in Cavendish Square, where uncle and aunt Dufferin lived in state. I feel sure their idea was that having been almost constantly at sea, it was time he should see something of society and should marry. Aunt Dufferin's ideas upon marriage were rigid and narrow, like all her ideas. The 'good sensible girl with a well-regulated mind, good family, and some money,' was not easily to be found, and when found, I should say, little likely to attract any man who had a spark of feeling. Your father was launched into a new world, of which he previously had known nothing. . . . He was delighted with the attention paid him in London; his 'prospects' were examined into, and passed muster; he was considered a good match; he met your mother, by whom he became fascinated; he was truly and deeply attached to her, and he was proud of her beauty, her wit, and her high social position. But there was a general feeling in the family against the marriage, not against your mother, for they had never seen her, and I must say that from the moment they did see her some years after, both my father and uncle Dufferin were devoted to her. Sir James Graham and Lady Jersey were the people I heard blamed, and also Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who had 'written plays,' a wicked employment, and who had left a granddaughter to carry off their son and nephew. All this of course sounds preposterous now, but it was real then, and while I listened with fear, I knew not what to think of it all. It is difficult for me to do justice to both sides—to lament over your mother's bad reception by the family, and yet to be loyal to my own people, who were fine old people in their way, but their way was not hers, and never could be. They could not understand, and cared nothing for, all the genius and talent of all the Sheridans; they preferred the stale platitudes of the common herd around them, and very funny it was to see how they connected stupidity and goodness as qualities which necessarily went together, and considered imagination as a mental

disease, and genius as a very dangerous possession, leading to the breaking of the whole Decalogue ! ”

In these circumstances, moral and material, the prospect of married life in England was by no means agreeable ; so after the wedding in July 1825 Price Blackwood and his wife departed on the same day for Italy, settled first in Florence for the winter, then moved for a time to Siena, returning again to Florence for Mrs. Blackwood's confinement ; and there Frederick Lord Dufferin was born on June 21, 1826. The birth cost his mother a long and dangerous illness ; she passed the convalescent stage at an old castle in the Apennines, until after two years they returned to England, and took up their residence in a cottage at Long Ditton.

APPENDIX (PAGE 19).

CLANDEBOYE—or more correctly Clan aodh buidhe, the Clan of Yellow Hugh—was divided into two, Lower Clandeboye and Upper. Lower Clandeboye was in the County of Antrim. Upper Clandeboye “ reacheth from the Duffryn to Knockfergus,” which would comprise the district now including Clandeboye, the residence of the late Lord Dufferin.

In the Letters Patent from James I. to James Hamilton, dated the third year of his reign (1605), the premises include “ all those regions countries or territories of the Upper Clandeboye and the Great Ards in Clandeboye in the said County of Down in the Province of Ulster in his said Kingdom of Ireland and all other castles manors lands tenements and hereditaments in the said country of Clandeboye and the Great Ards of which Neale MacBrien Fertagh O'Neile or his father Brian otherwise Brian Fertagh O'Neile in the time of their lives was or were possessed of.”

There were quite a number of castles in this district, but the most important one was that on the hill of Castlereagh, within three miles of Belfast. Sir Brian O'Neill was treach-

crously made a prisoner here by the Viceroy Essex, and carried off captive to Dublin, where he was executed.*

The modern mausion of Clandeboye was originally a very small two-storied house, and at some time during the eighteenth century low wings were added to either side of it.

In 1800 James Lord Dufferin raised and enlarged it, and his wife laid out the grounds immediately round the house.

Frederick (the late) Lord Dufferin made further alterations to the building, changing the entrance, and adding several rooms. He also added to the interest of it by building into the walls of the hall a number of Egyptian inscriptions and carvings which he brought home after his first visit to that country. The house is full of these souvenirs of travel. Lord Dufferin had a very great love of landscape gardening, and with most unpromising materials to work upon, he succeeded in changing the whole character of Clandeboye.

When he succeeded to it, it was a small place, with trees growing up to the windows, excluding all view. Lord Dufferin cut openings in every direction, planted the adjacent hills, and built Helen's Tower on the top of one of them. He made a large lake within sight of the windows, and, at the time of the famine, a long avenue leading down to the sea, so that he provided himself with a cheerful and extensive view, very different from that he looked out upon as a young man.

Nor did he confine his improvements to his own place. From the time he succeeded to the property at the age of 16, he began to plant every available bit of the country, to enlarge the fields, and, wherever it was possible for him to exert any influence, to improve the architecture of houses and churches.

He lived to see the result of these labours ; the aspect

* " Ah, Clandeboye ! thy friendly floor
Slieve-Donard's oak shall light no more ;
The mantling brambles hide thy hearth,
Centre of hospitable mirth,
All undistinguished in the glade,
My sires' glad home is prostrate laid.

* * * * *

And now the stranger's sons enjoy
The lovely woods of Clandeboye."

(From Sir Walter Scott's " Rokeby."

The speaker is Redmond O'Neill.)

of the country which had grieved him so much in his youth was entirely changed before he died. From the top of Helen's Tower woods are to be seen in every direction ; no stone walls, or small fields, or squalid cottages mar the landscape, and the prosperous appearance of the neighbourhood, and the increased beauty of the landscape, was certainly one of the great pleasures and satisfactions of his old age.

CHAPTER II.

ETON AND OXFORD.

AS Mrs. Blackwood's two sisters, Lady Seymour and Mrs. Norton, were by this time rising to the zenith of their radiance in the London world, she passed easily into distinguished society, and soon won the friendship and admiration, by her grace, beauty, and brightness, of such men as Sydney Smith, Lord Brougham, and Theodore Hook. Among the younger friends may be mentioned Mr. Disraeli, who has noted in a diary for 1832-3 the date of his first acquaintance with the three sisters.* In the mean time Captain Blackwood's marriage had been condoned, and the estrangement from his family had ended, so he brought his wife and son to make their first acquaintance with his parents at Clontarf in Ireland, where Hans Lord Dufferin was living in a house "where no two rooms had floors on a level, and consequently everybody was tumbling up and down steps all day, no doors or windows shut, and the sea breezes played freely over every sofa and bed, frisking out of the room after cooling every corner." Mrs. Blackwood fell ill of bronchitis, and the leading Dublin physician came to see her. "I shall never forget" (Mrs. Ward writes) "his face when the candle held to enable him to see the patient's face and throat was blown out by the

* "The only lady at Mrs. Norton's besides herself, was her sister Mrs. Blackwood, also very handsome and very Sheridanic. She told me she was nothing. 'You see Georgy's the beauty, and Carry's the wit, and I ought to be the good one, but then I am not.'"—Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister, 1832-1852, pp. 16, 17.

wind, which blew the bed-curtains into his face." However, they all moved presently to Clandeboyne, where Mrs. Blackwood rapidly conquered the entire household by her enchantments; while the old lord made his grandson, then four years old, drink Tory toasts at dessert. In 1831, when they were again in England, Captain Blackwood was appointed to the command of the *Imogene* frigate; and Lord Dufferin notes among his earliest recollections how he was on board of her when a salute was fired by the ship as she moved out to Spithead, and how his father bade them farewell when the *Imogene* put to sea for a cruise to the Cape and to India, that kept him abroad until July 1835. During his absence Mrs. Blackwood remained for the most part at Long Ditton, close to Hampton Court, where her mother, Mrs. Sheridan, had apartments; and Lord Dufferin retained pleasant memories of the broad palace gardens by the river, of the lime avenues, and of long strolls in Bushey Park. What sort of child he was at eight years of age, with the charms of his future character already germinating, is shown by a letter written from his mother to the absent father in 1833.

"I must say that he contrives to make his own way wherever he goes. Everybody takes a fancy to him, and even aunt Dufferin owns 'that it is difficult to refuse him anything,' and she sets him up as a model to all the mothers and children who visit here. Your father and mother are equally fond of him, and of course all strangers think him a miracle of wit and intelligence, as they find it is the fashion of the house to consider him so. Are you not afraid we are both growing conceited with all this? I assure you I am, but nevertheless you will do me justice when you return and own I do not indulge him. As you kindly give me leave to settle as to the necessity of his going to school before your return, I think I shall keep him at home, as he is remarkably manly of his age and not in the least damaged by the society of us women, and he is my little comfort and companion during your absence, though, believe me, I could not allow any selfish reason to interfere in such a case if there was the least doubt on my mind as to the necessity of doing otherwise."

The boy was eventually sent to a school at Hampton, kept by one Mr. Walton, whose methods of instruction were according to the ancient *régime*—energetic flogging of his pupils, and copious dosing of them with brimstone and treacle. It is upon Lord Dufferin's record that "the floggings at Eton were child's play compared with the Hampton ones;" yet in the forties Dr. Hawtrey could give a rasping stroke with the birch, although he lacked the enthusiasm of his predecessor, Dr. Keate, in the exercise of an Eton headmaster's high prerogative.

It is characteristic of Lord Dufferin that, although Walton must evidently have stamped upon him some painful impressions, he never lost sight of him in after-years. He went to see Walton at Hampton before leaving England, half a century later, for the Indian Governor Generalship; and in India, when he was opening with all the pomp and circumstance of Viceregal office a great railway bridge at Benares, what pleased him above all things was the name and parentage of the chief engineer.* Lord Dufferin was only prevented by an accident from making another visit on his return home in 1889, just before the old schoolmaster died in the same schoolhouse, where rod and physic surely never reared a more distinguished alumnus. Of Walton's large family

* "To me personally the completion of the Dufferin Bridge has been an especial source of pleasure—though no one could desire his service in India to be associated with a more noble monument—chiefly because the great and arduous engineering task of bridging the Ganges, at what is perhaps the most interesting as well as the most difficult part in all its course, has been executed under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Walton, whose father is one of the dearest and kindest friends I ever had, having been the instructor of my earliest youth—an instructor, I may mention in passing, who knew the principles recommended by King Solomon—and who, I am happy to think, is still alive to witness and rejoice in the success and triumph of his accomplished son."—Speech at Benares, December, 1883.

Mr. Walton wrote to Lord Dufferin—

January 20, 1888.—"My old eyes shed tears over the *Pioneer*, which reported to me the details of the gathering at the opening of the Dufferin Bridge. Please accept my thanks, heartfelt thanks, for all your generous words in regard to my son and your old tutor and lover. My dearest Lord, you have poured large drops of comfort into my cup of bitterness."

several went to India, and to one of them, a daughter, Lord Dufferin behaved with his usual generosity when she lost all her property in flying from some station during the Indian Mutiny.

From Hampton young Frederick Blackwood passed in May 1839, to the very different atmosphere of Eton, where he was introduced by his parents to Mr. Cookesley, the tutor into whose house he was to be taken.

“ We breakfasted ” (Lord Dufferin writes) “ with Cookesley, and at breakfast were two boys from other houses. When they left the room Mr. Cookesley said, ‘ There is one of the cleverest boys at Eton; his name is Wodehouse.’ This was the present * Lord Kimberley, who was also at Oxford with me, and who was Secretary of State for the Colonies when I was Governor General of Canada, and Secretary of State for India when I was Viceroy. He has well fulfilled the promise of his youth, for he is one of the ablest of our public men; but being entirely destitute of vanity, he has never cared to captivate public attention, and consequently has been never duly appreciated. Lord Granville told me he was the most useful man on our side in the House of Lords, as he was always ready to make an effective speech when called upon to do so, and at the same time perfectly indifferent if it should turn out that his speech was not wanted—a thing that can be said of very few men.”

Lady Dufferin, with her quick discrimination, saw enough at this single interview to dissatisfy her seriously with the choice of her son's tutor; but it was too late for a change; so Frederick Blackwood was placed at Cookesley's, a tutor whom his pupils liked much more than they respected him, who could make himself popular but could not make them work. Under Cookesley's shepherding the flock might stray at will; and Blackwood seems to have spent his time at Eton in the usual fashion of clever boys who take the regular school-work easily, and follow their own natural taste for general desultory reading. According to his later recollections,

he and his fellows were all idle, never did any pupil-room work, nor did their tutor pay any attention to their morals and manners, and the tone of the house was by no means high.* Lord de Ros, who was there with him, wrote long afterwards that Blackwood was a high-spirited youth of great natural talent, which he did not, however, expend upon doing his own verses; for the house had the singular good fortune of containing one boy (Lord Darnley) endowed with such a ready knack of turning out that kind of manufacture that it would have been false economy not to employ him; and he appears to have supplied the universal demand. On certain days of the week his room was besieged by customers; but "Dufferin and Darnley occupied two rooms at the top of a very steep staircase called Jacob's ladder, which Dufferin used to barricade with furniture until his own verses were done," when the rest were allowed entry—an amusing example of the various devices in vogue among Etonians of that day for baffling the very moderate attempts that were made to educate them. William Johnson, who became an Eton master, used to relate long afterwards how Cookesley would go walking with him and Blackwood, a boy on either side. Blackwood's talk was so copious that Cookesley named him "the Orator"—by that word (Johnson added) predicting his future greatness. This may have been unconscious inspiration; yet Cookesley was quite shrewd enough to discern in Blackwood, as in Wodehouse, the signs of ability and promise. But a strain of eccentricity depreciated his qualifications for the tutorial responsibilities that were for many years entrusted to him.

* Sir James Stephen's impressions of Eton about the same time (1842) corroborate in some degree Lord Dufferin's account of it. The teaching (Sir James thought) was "wretched," nevertheless the school had two good points—the boys were gentlemen by birth and breeding; and "there was a complete absence of moral and religious enthusiasm." In the former respect young Blackwood was certainly up to the highest standard of the school; and the frigid temperature of the religious climate at Eton did him no harm, for some of his early letters indicate a warm and earnest feeling towards religion. (See "The Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen," pp. 80, 81.)

In June 1841 Price Lord Dufferin went down to Eton for a day's visit to his son, who has described in his recollections how his father went up the river with him as a "sitter" in the eight-oar, and nearly fell overboard in pushing off the boat's stern, which had caught in a beam of the lock-gates. They parted in pleasant expectation of meeting again for the summer holidays at Clandeboye a few weeks later. But on the day before the school broke up came sudden news to Eton that Price Lord Dufferin had died on board a steam-packet during the passage across the Irish Channel. It is conjectured that he had been worried and greatly fatigued by an unsuccessful contest for election to Parliament at Chatham, since it is known that when he embarked, immediately afterwards, at Liverpool, he had bought some morphia pills from a chemist on the quay; and of these he must have taken an overdose, for he was found dead in his berth when the vessel reached Belfast.

"His letters and journals" (Lord Dufferin writes) "are the best witnesses to the simplicity, truthfulness, and crystal purity of my father's character."

Lady Dufferin was at Castellamare, in delicate health, when her husband died. Her son, now Lord Dufferin, joined her there immediately, stayed with her in Italy six months, returned to school in February 1842, and left Eton finally in April 1843. From the brief and irregular journals kept by him during the years 1839-42, it may be gathered that he was picking up elementary notions of art and literature by miscellaneous reading and visits to picture galleries, and that his mind was quickened by travelling abroad during the holidays. Boating was already his favourite pastime; but of references to the routine business of the school the entries contain very little. He was evidently one of those boys to whom the liberty and latitude of a great public school are favourable, because the system allows them to develop their innate faculties and tastes, encouraging

study without insisting upon it, leaving them to teach themselves quite as much as they are taught, while the absence of strict discipline operates upon them as a trial of character. In short, it is what Mr. Gladstone has termed (though not with reference to schools) "the insensible education, irrespective of mere book-learning," that trains, strengthens, and fertilizes the minds of those who are naturally capable of profiting by it. Of course, one grave disadvantage of this system is that dull and indolent boys profit far more by the playing-field than by the schoolroom, where indeed they learn little or nothing; yet the education takes good hold of minds that are constitutionally fitted to absorb it, though with some others it only serves, like preventive inoculation, to harden them against further book-learning.* Thirty years afterwards Lord Dufferin wrote to his son's tutor—

"Education is a subject to which I have given a great deal of attention, and in respect to which I have some experience. It is very clear that the problem of educating the British youth has not yet been solved. If you read the Report of the Commissioners on the Public Schools of England, you will find that nothing can be more disheartening than the conclusions at which they arrive. The Report of the Commission on our first-class Female Academies is even more distressing, and I am quite determined, so far as care and forethought can do so, that the ten best years of my boy's life shall not be spent in nominally learning two dead languages, without being able to translate an ordinary paragraph from either without the aid of a dictionary, when at nineteen or twenty he presents

* Compare the account, in Renan's "*Souvenirs de Jeunesse*," of the system practised at the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris—

"Les directeurs mènent exactement la vie des élèves et s'occupent d'eux aussi peu que possible. Si l'on veut travailler, on y est admirablement placé pour cela. Si l'on n'a point l'amour du travail, on peut ne rien faire, et il faut avouer qu'un grand nombre usent largement de la permission. Les interrogations, les examens sont presque nuls; l'émulation n'existe à aucun degré et serait tenue pour un mal."

Renan concludes that "this supreme respect for liberty," though it was against hard study, was on the whole beneficial, and that the principle might well be applied to the system of public instruction in France.

himself for matriculation at the University. Yet the Commissioners say that nine-tenths of the young men who come up to Oxford and Cambridge can scarcely do this much, in spite of all that parents, tutors, private and public schools have been able to do for them since they were eight years old."

Lord Dufferin had, fortunately for him, an invaluable guide and monitor in his mother, whose letters to him at school, and afterwards at the University, are models of wise and affectionate counsel, of tender solicitude, earnest warnings, and keen-witted discernment of character.

During the interval of eighteen months between his leaving Eton and his going up to Oxford, which was spent by Lord Dufferin in Ireland and elsewhere, he went through some earnest preparatory study; the course that he laid down for himself was to "sap five hours a day, have two hours' English reading, and one hour employed in doing my religious duties." In a letter dated July 1844 he tells his mother that he is looking forward with great pleasure to the larger life of a University.

"I feel" (he writes) "a great longing for a more extensive circle of acquaintances than I now possess. Although you may be inclined to laugh at me talking of the pleasures of society, etc., yet, dear Mother, I assure you that I feel something within myself which wishes for an acquaintance with others—men or boys. It is not a feeling similar to that which makes me like the society of one's schoolfellows, but a desire of comparing my impressions with those of others. I want to see whether other people are such as I; in short, I want to see the world from which I have been separated since I left Eton, and certainly no one can have enjoyed a pleasanter or happier seclusion."

In January 1845 he saw in London his guardian, Sir James Graham, who met him at Oxford, on the day of his arrival there—an epoch in his life that he never forgot.

"I remember I was so beside myself when my uncle, Sir James Graham, brought me to Oxford, that the night we slept at the Mitre I was desperately sick from sheer excitement; and even the discovery that my rooms, instead of having mediæval windows, were pure George the Third, hardly damped my joy. Northbrook inhabited those immediately above me." *

On the 24th of the same month, Lady Dufferin acknowledges his first letter from Christ Church, in a reply that mingles social gossip and political news from Paris with injunctions to keep up his French, to read Don Quixote, but to avoid *Gil Blas*; "the interest and wit of that book do not counterbalance its immorality."

"I was happy to get your first letter from Oxford, and to fancy you as comfortably settled as you seem to be. The south aspect and garden view sound to me delightful, and I think you rather conceited to regret that it looks on the 'least cultivated part' of the Dean's domain! The Lord Ogilvy you mention is grandson to the old Lady Airlie, who said 'the folks on Hillymuir are far ahint!' when she heard that a carrier had dropped a lobster in the village, which the inhabitants took up reverentially and carried to the schoolmaster (as the wise man of the place) to ask what it could be, who replied, 'It maun either be an eeliphant or a turtle doo—for they are the only two beasts we dinna ken by sight.' "

From this time forward throughout Lord Dufferin's residence at Christ Church, the correspondence between mother and son is an admirable record of affectionate intimacy. He writes of his daily work, of wine-parties, of one set that he dislikes and another that he prefers, of the manners and habits of the University, of his pursuits, impressions, and aspirations. He is amazed by the "great outward respect" that he finds paid to gentlemen commoners, and by the privileges that they enjoy, without having, he says, the slightest claim to them.

"We dine at a table by ourselves, raised on a *daïs* at the top of the hall; our gowns are made of silk, and a gold tassel is put on the cap, whence the name of 'tufts'; all others are interdicted from keeping servants and horses; we are not even expected to do so much in our college examinations; in short, there is no circumstance in which we are not given the advantage, consequently we are tempted to think that there must be some intrinsic merit in ourselves to deserve such attention, and begin to look with contempt upon those our fellow-students, who are not treated with like respect."

At first he fell into company not at all to his mind, "all hunting men," and of very profane conversation.

"I came here" (he wrote to his mother) "with the determination to keep myself as much as possible from pretensions to superior morality, but to avoid any conduct which might be called methodistical; but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that my best course will be to drop as unobservedly as possible out of such a society."

He soon drew himself free from these associates, and found his proper place among the best undergraduates of his own standing, with some of whom he kept up a friendship for the rest of their lives. He exhibited already the alert curiosity, the readiness to consort with people of various sorts and conditions, the amused interest in quaint folk and strange manners, that are uncommon in the ordinary English youth, who is apt to shun eccentricity.

"Yesterday I had a *tête-à-tête* with a Phœnician, come over to England to learn medicine. He dresses in the costume of his country. I was delighted with his conversation. . . . Upon his admiring the picture of Henry VIII., I thought that being a Turk and fellow countryman of Blue-beard, I might tell him the history of his seven wives. He was delighted, and was particularly inquisitive into the number which his majesty had at once. I was surprised to find him totally unacquainted with Sanchoniathon, and as to Manetho and Berosus, he had never heard so much as their names."

This personage appears to have been an Armenian by birth and creed. When Lord Dufferin consulted his old schoolmaster, Walton, on the best means of converting him to Anglican orthodoxy, Walton replied that it was perfectly useless to consult Archdeacons or Bishops upon such a matter, and advised resort to a City mission.

That he very soon began to take University life seriously is proved by the frequent allusions in his letters to the Pythic club, a society which owes its initiation to him, with the collaboration of George Boyle,* Pakington,† and a few other intimates. The members met, in strict privacy, to read essays, and to debate on diverse subjects, ethical, political, and historical; "all theological subjects to be disallowed, but moral questions agitated;" the speeches to be recorded in the archives of the club. Lord Dufferin, who invented the name,‡ and was the first president, opened the inaugural meeting by reading an essay; and on a subsequent occasion he spoke upon Duelling, "all my speech taken from the Penny Encyclopædia;" while another oration was against Hunting. There was also a motion, proposed by Boyle, that "William III. was one of the most despicable characters in history," when Dufferin replied by an eloquent defence of Lord Macaulay's hero. At other times "Frederick the Great was dreadfully battered, and his fame reckoned infamy." Charles I. fared little better under discussion, and Pakington is reported as having made "an excellent speech on Manufacturers, though his reasoning was all wrong." That the proceedings were sometimes conducted with more heat than harmony may be inferred from several entries in Lord Dufferin's journal for 1846, as, for example—"Private meeting at the Pythic. Great Disorder. Seditious placards. Blackett's Finis."

* Afterwards Earl of Glasgow.

† Afterwards Lord Hampton.

‡ "Pythic from *πυθέσθαι*, to inquire into truth" (Lord Dufferin to his mother). The derivation is a very doubtful one, but the Pythians are said to have been persons appointed in Sparta to consult the Delphic oracle on affairs of State; and the Oxford Pythians took up similar questions in a cave of their own.

In a letter to his mother he describes a "fearful crisis at the Pythic," when the opposition, led by Dufferin, silenced Pakington by indignant "screaming and knocking their heads against the table." And in March of that year he gave an immense wine-party, followed immediately by a Pythic meeting, where he seems to have argued with immoderate fluency and fervour in support of his thesis that the heathen oracles were certainly of Satanic origin. It may be here mentioned that on July 1, 1898, Lord Dufferin presided in London at a dinner attended by about a hundred and fifty Pythic members, past and present, of whom the only original member beside himself was the late Sir William Fraser.

His mother, whom he often asks to suggest debatable topics, replies that she feels shy about tendering advice to the oracular Pythians, but gives sound advice in regard to the due preparation of his discourses, comments humorously upon his reports of their proceedings, declares that the Pythic is the only flourishing institution of its time, and predicts that it will soon cover the habitable globe with its doctrines and disciples. In respect to the spelling in his letters, she inquires whether it betokens a new Pythic mode of writing, and remarks that "it won't do for Cadmæans and Pythians to commit errors in orthography."

"You are very careless" (she writes) "in spelling, and the reason I tell you of it is that a habit of inattention to that matter easily grows on one; and you might end by writing letters worthy of Lord Londonderry. My grandfather Sheridan always affirmed that no Irish peer could spell. Pray don't let his first great-grandson be a proof of his knowledge of Irish ignorance.

"I think you and Boyle have hit on a good plan in breakfasting together that you may not get into slovenly or awkward habits from being alone; not that I fear that fault for you, for you have a natural taste for the proprieties of life, and can see and appreciate grace in little as well as great things, but still nobody can cultivate that quality too much if one does but consider of what real

importance manner is. As all the good a man can do in this world will depend much on the influence he attains over the minds of others, he should endeavour (from the best of motives) to avoid being ridiculous or uncouth in his ways, as it tends much to efface (in the eyes of the multitude) the impression which sound sense and real talent might otherwise produce."

Upon another subject, his complaint about the miscarriage of her letters, she answers—

"Do you really mean to say that you have never received any of those pleasant and instructive letters which I have been at the trouble of writing to you on all imaginable and unimaginable subjects? Not even the last one, which treated of the cosmogony of the universe, nor my eloquent treatise on the original purpose of pyramid building! How very odd! Uncle Graham must have been at the post-office * again; but that is the worst misfortune of instructive writers. Public men immediately endeavour to appropriate their ideas."

Here is one passage drawn from a letter brimming over with affection and solicitude—

"Your letter gave me much pleasure, not because it assured me of your love, for I need no words to convince me of that, but because it showed me that you know how very dear you are to me. I promise you that I shall always keep it by me as long as I live, and it shall be buried with me when I die. You are wrong in calling yourself 'selfish.' I know no one who would be more ready to sacrifice his own pleasure or advantage to another than you are, and you may accept this praise from me fearlessly, for you know I judge you as severely as I love you greatly.

"Bacon says—'There is no greater trust between friend and friend than that of giving counsel,' how much greater that trust between mother and son! No, you are not selfish, but self-occupied, which you know is the danger I am always warning you against, for though that pre-occupation of mind proceeds in your case from the best of

* This is an allusion to the opening of Mazzini's letters by order of the Secretary of State.

motives—a desire to make yourself a worthy servant of God, still that close attention to minutiae in which you exclude every object but yourself and your own actions, must tend in the long run to remove you from the great end you have in view. You are to me, my darling! all that a mother's heart can desire, the best and most obedient of sons, but I wish you to be yet more,—I wish you to be a good and great man, a philosopher and a Christian, in the largest sense of that word, more occupied with the good of others than his own, more impressed with the sacredness of great duties than of petty forms. But I feel convinced that you will be all that I wish or dream, for a sincere desire to do right, is, after all, the best and surest guide for the clearest as well as the weakest intelligence, and all straight paths lead forward.”

Again—

“Your *Tableaux Vivants* sound to me much like bad pantomimes; nothing is so pretty or pleasing as a breathing representation of some great *chef d'œuvre* which we all know and recognize, for the memory and imagination are both affected by it. But silly people putting themselves in affected attitudes to represent imaginary persons, has always appeared to me a waste of time, energy, and candle-light.”

On Lord Dufferin's election to the Union, the University's debating club, his first oratorical venture was in a discussion over the Polish question, when, although he had not intended to speak, he found himself to his own astonishment suddenly on his legs, and making without any difficulty what he believed to be a pretty good speech. In 1847 he became President of the Union, to his mother's great satisfaction, who inquires whether there is any salary or emolument attached to the office of “President's Mother.” He notes in his diary for the same year that the practice of fasting had been commended to him by his friend Boyle, and that having ascertained that it was approved by High Churchmen, he was studying the question attentively. On experiment, however, fasting damaged his health,

so that he was induced by his mother to consult the Bishop of Ely, whose advice upon the matter he appears to have accepted. There are other references in his letters to a scheme for self-examination and to rules for daily living, indicating—in the words of one who knew him at that time—a certain degree of exaltation, or, as he himself called it later, an emotional state of mind, in regard to religion. He had already begun to meditate seriously upon the duties and responsibilities of the life that lay before him, to make plans and form resolutions, and the natural activity of his temperament was developing in various directions.

In Paris, during the winter vacation of 1846, he was presented to the King, Louis Philippe—

“He asked me whether I came from Ireland, and whether it was the first time I had been in Paris. The Queen said, ‘Fils de Lady Dufferin?’ to which I answered by a bow. ‘Oh,’ she added, ‘il a les traits de sa mère.’ Went to the Embassy ball, danced till five in uniform; shoved through a glass door.”

In crossing the Channel on his way homeward, he found on the steamer Dr. Hawtrey, his Eton headmaster, and met him again at Paddington station, where “I talked to him familiarly, to the manifest wonder and reverence of all the little Etonians. I could not help laughing at the gossiping nature of our conversation; for we talked of nothing but the fair women of Paris, and the respective loves we left mourning for us in that capital.”

Lord Dufferin took his degree in November 1846, and left Oxford in the following December. It is somewhat remarkable that neither his journal nor his correspondence for this period contains any allusion to the events and controversies that brought the agitation in the University over the famous Tractarian Movement to its climax during the first year of his residence. A few weeks after he entered Christ Church that tumultuous meeting of the Convocation was held at which the cen-

tures proposed upon Newman and Ward were negatived, amid vehement excitement, by the Proctors; and in October 1845 Newman's secession to the Roman Church produced a profound sensation at Oxford. That these storms in the upper air should have passed over the heads of undergraduates is, however, sufficiently comprehensible; and although Lord Dufferin, as we have seen, had serious thoughts about religion, he had not the studious, contemplative, theological cast of mind. The activity of his intellect, which was a marked feature of his character, ran into other channels; his bent was evidently toward political discussion, not only in regard to points of past history, but also to questions of practical administration. His reading seems to have been varied, and possibly desultory; yet though in classical scholarship his equipment may have been light, he undoubtedly managed to imbibe that taste and admiration for Latin and Greek literature which he diligently cultivated and turned to account throughout an after-life of strenuous work and incessant peregrinations.*

Nearly half a century afterwards he wrote to Lord Arthur Russell—

“Certainly my two years at Oxford were by far the happiest of my (unmarried) existence; and the friends I made there have been the friends of my life.”

And the strength of this friendship is attested by the Dean of Durham (Dr. Kitchin), one of the very few survivors, who writes (1903)—

“We were close undergraduate friends together. I was

* “He (Ruskin) is a wonderful example of the ennoblement of Pass work by a strong and ready intelligence. In my time I have known three men of whom this is true; men on whom the old Pass education really had excellent effects; these were: Lord Salisbury, Lord Dufferin and Ava, and Ruskin. They all brought to it a generosity of mind and breadth of experience which raised them above the work they had to do; they had the power of getting good out of the dry bones of the Pass system.”—“Ruskin in Oxford, and other Studies,” by Dean Kitchin, p. 30.

one of the first men whom Lord Dufferin and Mr. Boyle took into a little literary club that they established among Christ Church men ; a society that met in profound secrecy, even the name of it was unknown. Though I have seen but little of him in modern days, our ancient affection never died out to the end. He was not a leader of sport or games ; always with a dash of Sheridan wit and brightness in his quiet life. No one who saw his inner life could have failed to be deeply impressed by his beautiful courtesy, his affectionate feeling toward his lad-friends, his singular winning power. He did not aim at Oxford distinction, but took his line steadily for diplomatic work. In those days he was what we now should call a moderate Whig."

The following recollections, contributed spontaneously to this biography by another Oxford friend and contemporary, Mr. Herbert Fisher, who died a few weeks after sending it, are of sufficient value and interest to be inserted at length :—

" Lord Dufferin came from Eton to Christ Church, singularly attractive, as he always was, in appearance and manner, and with all his other gifts, might have been expected to take a conspicuous place in the society of the place. But from the first he led a very quiet life ; he neither hunted nor rowed nor played games (but this was before the era of athletics), and his immediate friends were not many. The two nearest to his heart were, I have no doubt, George F. Boyle and Francis Robert Hepburn ; and it was a remarkable selection for him to have made.

" Boyle was the brother of the Earl of Glasgow, whom he succeeded in the title ; I well recollect his first arrival at Christ Church. He had been at no public school, if at any school at all ; and was slightly uncouth in appearance, with garments of an antique cut, extremely silent and shy, and with a broad Scotch accent. He came as a Gentleman Commoner, and must have found himself at once with strangely unfamiliar surroundings. Happily for him, Dufferin took to him at once, and they became fast friends. Boyle accompanied him on their famous visit to Skibbereen during the Irish famine, an account of which was published, and which gave rise to an animated debate at the Union. Dufferin brought forward a motion to appropriate some at all events of the accumulated money

of the Society to the Irish Famine Fund, and he advocated his case with impassioned eloquence. But his motion was, of course rightly, rejected. Boyle was a deeply religious man, his whole soul was devoted to charitable works, and I do not believe that he cared for anything else. I think that Dufferin must at first have been struck by his apparent isolation, and then no doubt he became deeply penetrated with the beauty of his character.

"Hepburn, like Boyle, had never been at any public school, and was undistinguished for talent and attainments of any kind. But he was most engaging, as simple and guileless a soul as ever lived. He was predestined to Holy Orders, and was to succeed to the family living of Chailey in Sussex. This he did in time, living at first with two sisters, and then with the survivor till his death, his elder brother Colonel Hepburn being squire of the parish. In 1893 he was struck with paralysis, and he went to his bed, from which he never again rose. He died the next year. Dufferin had corresponded constantly with him during the whole of his life, and I believe had an intense love for him. At the time of Hepburn's illness Dufferin was ambassador in Paris, but he took an opportunity during a visit to England of paying him a last visit, and 'was extremely interested in all his surroundings and in seeing the house where he had passed his innocent and useful life.' He went into the church and got up into his pulpit, and in another letter he writes, 'Poor Hepburn! he was already an angel when he was at Oxford. I never knew such an innocent nature, and innocent is the only term to be applied to his entire life.'

"I cannot but think that it would give Dufferin pleasure were he to know that in any memoir of his life his affection for this friend were recorded. Fidelity in friendship was certainly one of Dufferin's most marked characteristics.

"Dufferin never had any idea of reading for honours, and passed his Final Schools as soon as he could. He was an advocate for a greater latitude in the studies of the place as they were then pursued, and I do not recollect his taking any particular interest in the Classics, and was rather surprised, when I met him in Piccadilly one day not very long after he had left Oxford, at his telling me that he was reading Pindar with delight. He became a constant reader of the Classics, and was always glad to talk about them.

"Whilst at Oxford he took great pleasure in a small debating club which he organized, composed of his more immediate friends. We met once a week, I think, in his rooms in Canterbury, and read papers and debated; contemporary politics were excluded. These I need not say were very pleasant evenings.

"But Dufferin did not confine himself to this very domestic arena; he spoke at the Union, and the records of the Society show that he was President for Easter term 1847.

"He was a Liberal in politics, but I do not think that he took a very keen interest in the political strife of the day, and I should say that the detachment from party required during the most important part of his subsequent life did not cost him much, and indeed was congenial to him. So in matters of religion. He was during his life at Oxford strongly dominated by religious feeling. His friend Boyle was an ardent High Churchman of the Pusey and Newman type (the prevailing type in those days), but Dufferin showed no signs of leaning either towards that or any other party in the Church.

"The last letter I received from Dufferin was written on the 22nd of November 1901, from Clandeboye, just after his return from Edinburgh, giving a delightful account of his visit to Oxford to unveil the memorial to Sir William Hunter. . . . 'I was staying' (he wrote) 'with the Warden of Merton, who is an old friend of mine, and I did enjoy so finding myself in college, going to chapel, dining in hall, and afterwards adjourning to the Common room. In one respect, however, I was disappointed, for I had been looking forward to attending a Latin service in the Cathedral, but it seems they have abolished it. Except my own home, there is no place on earth that I love so much as Oxford, and yet I have been there so seldom since we left, and in the one or two flying visits I have paid the place I was not allowed an hour to myself, as some function or other was always on hand. . . . I was just able to get a glimpse of my old rooms, as the owner's oak was not sported, and he was the son of a friend of mine. . . . Alas, alas! how many of that friendly, happy set of ours have disappeared! —Pakington, Boyle, Hepburn, Hunt,* Blackett,† Fraser,‡

* The Right Hon. G. Ward Hunt.

† Montagu Blackett.

‡ Sir William Fraser.

Buckland,* all gone. You, Kitchin,† Robert Murray, and myself, are I think the only survivors.' " ‡

* Frank Buckland.

† Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Durham.

‡ The Earl of Northbrook wrote (November 1902) to me: "It may be interesting for you to know that Lord Dufferin was at Christchurch with Wodehouse (Kimberley), Dodson (Monk Bretton), C. Fortescue (Carlingford), and myself—all of these having been together in Gladstone's Cabinet of 1880. Not a bad record for Christchurch. Also G. Hunt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Admiralty in the Conservative Governments, and the Duke of Buckingham (then Lord Chandos) were at Christchurch at the same time."—A. C. L.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

FROM the beginning of 1847, when Lord Dufferin had left Oxford, up to the end of 1848, his journal has not been preserved. In an entry for January 1847, however, he notes the date when he first thought of an expedition to those districts in Ireland where the famine was at its worst ; for the potato crop of 1846 had utterly failed, and disease was raging among a starving population. Toward the end of February 1847 he crossed with his friend George Boyle to Dublin, where he was told that at the little town of Skibbereen in Kerry he could find what he came to see in Ireland, so to that place they went on immediately. Within two days' journey from the richest and most thriving country in the world they found a town plunged in the lowest depths of misery and desolation ; the famished people were dying in their hovels ; the living had scarcely strength to bury the dead ; the corpses were thrown into shallow grave-pits without funeral rites, often without coffins ; a crowd in the streets fought like dogs for some bread which the two friends distributed. The small farmers, having neither food nor seed-grain, had left their lands untilled, and had gone to labour on the public famine works ; the poorest people had pawned their furniture and even their tools ; the fishermen had parted with their boats and nets ; the petty tradesmen, having no customers,

were also in distress. In the mean time, the larger farmers, "who make the exports that astonish every one, and by the sale of their corn have alone flourished in the general calamity," had ceased to pay their rents, and were emigrating wherever they had in this way got together money enough. On their return to Oxford the two friends published there a narrative of their journey; and among the letters received by Lord Dufferin in 1847 are several that prove the ardent energy with which he took up the work of collecting subscriptions for the Irish peasantry, and of promoting the organization of Relief Committees. With these objects he endeavoured to assemble a public meeting, and he appears to have applied for support to the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), who replied circuitously that "although I should be unwilling by word or deed to check the self-denying sympathy which it is your Lordship's wish to arouse, I cannot say that, considering the peculiarities attendant on your Lordship's position at Oxford, I should be disposed to recommend a public meeting"—and who referred him to the Vice-Chancellor, by whom permission for the meeting was refused. To his mother he writes—

"The news we have brought back [from Ireland] has made a great impression upon the men here. They are squeezing out money from every possible sponge, principally innocent old fathers and warm-hearted mothers; they are selling their pictures, their pianos, and have passed some very statesmanlike resolutions with regard to their kitchen arrangements. . . . I hope before we have done that £1000 will be poured into Skibbereen."

He contributed, anonymously, precisely that sum to the Relief Fund—somewhat to the alarm of Lady Dufferin, who had shaken her head over the "Quixotic trip" to the land of famine, of which he had sent her no warning before he set out.

"By hiding your escapade from me" (she writes) "you have given me an abiding sense of insecurity, for how am

I ever to feel safe from doubt and anxiety, if, when I have reason to think you are safe in your bed at Oxford, you may be in fact making a trip to Jerusalem to see if things are going on right there, or inquiring into the political state of Cracow—sur les lieux mêmes ! ”

She again cautions him against rushing too impulsively into these projects, having evidently been much alarmed at his visit to places where the typhus fever was spreading very destructively in the famine's wake.

“ Nevertheless ” (she says), “ if your heart is set upon being in Ireland for your birthday, do not think that I would offer any opposition to your very first act of independence, especially as you have been the most reasonable and obedient of sons all your minor days.”

To his mother he writes, a month before coming of age, a letter that illustrates his affectionate gratitude for her care of him—

“ Your house has for the last twenty years been my most happy home, where everything has always been sacrificed to my interests, and all my fancies have been attended to, and I am sure the least that I can do is to try and make my house agreeable to you, though I fear that after all that can be done I will have had the best of the bargain. I cannot say all that I would. I cannot explain how happy I would have you, or how happy I feel you have made me, or how much I wish to make you consider my house your home for ever.”

The date of his attaining majority was June 21, 1847 ; * but his coming of age was not celebrated at Clandeboyne until August, when he was entertained there by five hundred of his tenantry, and various speeches were made, upon which his uncle, R. B. Sheridan, comments characteristically—

* The stanzas written by his mother to him, and sent to him on his twenty-first birthday, full of ardent love, of hopes and anxiety for his future welfare, are in the published collection of Helen Lady Dufferin's “ Songs and Verses.”

"I read the account of your sayings and doings on the day your tenants presented their mess of potatoes to satisfy the stomachs of yourself and your friends. I thought all you said in the best taste and as graceful as a Sheridan could wish."

At another dinner given to his tenantry in December he spoke at length with that mixture of gaiety and gravity which belonged to his temperament, beginning in a humorous and exuberant tone that dropped into seriousness toward the end. His description of an Irish landlord as "an individual who does not get rent; a well-dressed gentleman who may be shot with impunity, the legitimate target of the immediate neighbourhood, a superficial index by which to mark the geographical direction of the under-currents of assassinations," not unnaturally jarred upon the nerves of Lord Dungannon, who published a letter to him remonstrating against "treating such a fearful and melancholy truth as in any way the fit subject for a jest!" Yet most people would allow that a convivial meeting and the orator's youth might excuse these sallies; and in a private letter Lord Dungannon subsequently acknowledged his strong sense of the good taste and kindness of heart evinced by the reply which Lord Dufferin had written to him.

Lord Dufferin's connexion with his University was now rapidly falling away, and Sir John Pakington writes to him in sorrow over the decadence of the Pythic club since its founder left—

"We have had one meeting under the new system—Barker president, myself secretary; a good subject for debate (the Norman Conquest) brought forward by me; no one spoke but the mover; no essay; no authority, no order—a big book with nothing to write in it, a smart ballot box with no one to vote for, a neat box for motions with nothing to move, eight and sixpence in the treasury—are all that remain of that once illustrious establishment."

Lord Dufferin, in fact, after leaving Oxford seems to

have leapt into the midst of London society, where he soon made very numerous friends, and became heartily welcome at many houses. A letter from his mother in 1847 tells him that all his friends think the moment propitious for his entering Parliament, and offer him their support with full discretion to choose his way in politics conscientiously and independently ; but nothing seems to have followed these overtures. She writes, again, that though she wishes him to marry early in life, he ought first to see something of the world, wherefore he is advised to show no serious preferences, but to dance and chat with all impartially. And the sub-joined extract from a subsequent letter indicates that her son was conforming dutifully to her counsels—

“ Many young ladies have been seen weeping over my area railings and pressing the scraper to their hearts. It is supposed that they may have been your partners in the mazy dance.”

But Lord Dufferin at no time allowed his keen enjoyment of pleasure to overmaster his purpose of taking life seriously. Early in 1848 came the sudden revolutionary storm that swept over all the kingdoms of Western and Central Europe. His mother writes to him of the intense anxiety and excitement in London over the fall and flight from Paris of Louis Philippe.

“ Last night it was positively affirmed that the banished King was at Folkestone ; and an express train was sent for him. The post is stopped ; the rails are torn up (in France), so that no private communications between Paris and London are possible. There were seven editions of the *Times* out in the course of yesterday. . . . The times are most stirring and interesting—to hear so many and such different minds discussing the daily events is like an intellectual pantomime.”

At home the condition of Ireland, now barely recovering from the famine, constantly occupied his attention ; and he appears to have gone there from time to time,

collecting and verifying facts with much industry. After going round over all the townlands on his Clondeboyne estate, he writes to his mother—

“ A more melancholy, saddening employment, can scarcely be conceived. It is like looking down, as Jeremy Taylor says, from the battlements of heaven upon all the various miseries in the world, for a relation of all the misfortunes the tenants have suffered during the last twenty years, is the sole subject of their conversation—while their wretched hovels are no very enlivening commentary to the tales, and even the most hopeful and active of them keep only recounting the exertions they have made, and the privations they have endured, to scrape together ‘ his lordship’s rent,’ which it is their pride to think ‘ they have always paid, even though they had to go wanting a shirt.’ Then again, almost every second farm I came to, Howe pointed it out to me as one utterly done, incapable of paying the smallest rent that could be put on, owing to the way the land has been run down. Add to this a bleak, bare country, studded thickly with the gables of ruined houses, and blotted over with low black cabins, without a hedge or tree, but intersected with rugged blue stone walls and flooded with black bogs, or dull steel-coloured sheets of water, and you have the picture of what most of my estate consists of. Certainly the pluck of the people is wonderful sometimes, and soon I hope we shall be able to effect wonderful changes.”

In reply to a request for subscriptions to the building of a church, he offers £200, on condition that the plans shall be approved by him, saying—

“ I am determined that, so far as lies in my power to prevent it, the face of the country shall not any longer be disfigured by the disgraceful attempts at ecclesiastical architecture which are at present so frequent. And you need not entertain any fears of my wishing to introduce any of the Oxford innovations.”

In May 1848 he was making speeches in County Down, much approved by his mother, who writes, however, that one of them was a little too classical and meta-

physical ; and in August he delivered to his tenants at Clandeboy an address, evidently composed very carefully, on the relations between Irish landlords and tenants, mainly with advertence to the custom of Tenant Right in Ulster, reviewing it at length historically as to its origin, and economically as to its operation. Now that the main issues upon the case between Irish landlords and tenants, which were then so fiercely debated, have been determined by trenchant legislation, Lord Dufferin's arguments, and his conclusion that "Tenant Right is a custom upon which I look with the greatest regret and disapproval," have lost immediate interest. Yet an extract may be given from the beginning of his speech to illustrate the style of his oratory at an age when he had just attained manhood, and as evidence that he had spared no pains to fit himself for the position and duties of an Irish landlord. A year's actual experience had cured him of any disposition to be facetious.

"Last year when I first undertook the guidance of that most unmanageable subject, an Irish estate, I had but an indistinct conception of what lay before me. I knew that I was charged with great responsibilities, that the happiness of many depended upon me, and that I had to convey a large tract of land, with its superincumbent population, safe through the many dangers which surrounded them. Since then I have been trying to comprehend the attitude of affairs ; and I confess few things are so perfectly incomprehensible. I consider a newly constituted Irish landlord is a sublime spectacle. There is something heroic in his situation ; his difficulties are so insurmountable, and the destiny against which he hopelessly strives is so ruthless and inexorable, that he becomes extremely affecting and even commonplace. . . . There is nothing that he has not to do, or be, or try to be. Without the slightest warning, he suddenly finds himself wildly ranging through a whole circle of difficulties. In ethics, politics, and economics, he stands helplessly confronting an entire conglomeration of problems which the ingenious management of his predecessors have invented for his solution, with evils accumulated through centuries, until they have become absorbed

into the constitution, and threatened with the possibilities of physical violence, unless he suffers his acquiescence to become their additional confirmation. Something of this has been, psychologically speaking, my condition during the past year. Month after month has passed in the contemplation of these phenomena, including the rapid survey of a rebellion, as interpreted by Smith O'Brien and Co. I have done my best to make myself master of the subject, and to understand the spirit of my own people. According to my promise, I have visited you all in your own homes—a very extensive undertaking; I have passed whole days among the bogs—a somewhat monotonous occupation; I have eaten your oat-cake, drunk your tea; and warmed myself at your firesides, until I hope I am as conversant with the domestic mysteries of cottier life as the most canny gudewife among you.

“This inspection has been both careful and interesting; but at the same time it was rather a sad employment—to walk day after day in a dull, thick rain, over a bleak country, treeless and hedgeless, scarred all over with crooked stone walls, which enclose three-cornered bits of half-cultivated fields; to wade up unmade clay lanes to the doors of cottages, perched away on slanting pieces of rock, green outside with damp and black inside with smoke; to be almost upset by the conscious pig, as he rushes out between your legs—lest you should see how comfortably domesticated he is with the family inside; to listen to the oft-repeated tale of loss of cattle by murrain and children by fever, which, gorged and satiated, seems only to have retreated for a time to the reeking heap of filth beneath the windows, whence, as from a citadel, he may sally forth to snatch fresh victims day after day. I repeat, to witness such sights as these which, though by no means universal, are yet too frequent, is, I assure you, by no means calculated to raise the spirits. The evils are so gigantic and so independent of the landlord's control, that after a long day's walk I often came home confounded, but never despairing. I reflected that time, management, education, nothing could resist: that improvement once in progress acquires itself an innate power of motion, and if not in this, at all events in the next generation, the whole tone of people's habits might be raised.

“Such, gentlemen, is the kind of work that Irish landlords have now on their hands.”

The plan which at this period he had shaped for himself was to spend a year or two in studying some of the impending questions most likely to rank foremost in the political field, and to determine the principles that he could advocate, before entering the House of Commons. He had already proved an aptitude for affairs, and a faculty of public speaking, that promised future distinction ; and his rising reputation was marking him out as one whose services in Parliament would be valuable to the party with whom he might throw in his lot. Accordingly in January 1849 he accepted from Lord John Russell the post of a Lordship-in-waiting ; * and later in that year Lord Lansdowne offered to vote for his election as a Representative Peer for Ireland, being convinced (he wrote) that Lord Dufferin would do more credit to the representation than any other person. Nevertheless, he declined to put himself in nomination on the ground that he was then aiming at the House of Commons, " which has always seemed to me a better place for a beginner than the House of Lords ; " and when Lord John Russell, at Pembroke Lodge, after a dinner, proposed to make him a Lord of the Bedchamber he took some time to consider his position and prospects. Sir James Graham advised him to accept the offer, and to ask for an English peerage. The interview is noted in his Journal thus—

June 12, 1849.—" Waited upon Lord John in Downing Street, who, when I began to declare my readiness to follow him as my political leader, but that on politics my ideas were still floating, replied rather dryly that he did not want to know anything of my political opinions, and that as long as I continued out of Parliament I need not resign with a change of ministry. This was extraordinarily handsome upon his part. Feeling somewhat embarrassed, I did not say anything about the Peerage."

* He learnt, forty years afterwards, from Lord Aberdeen's private letters, that when his name was submitted for this appointment to the Queen, Her Majesty hesitated over it on the ground that " Lord Dufferin is much too good looking and captivating."

He felt diffident, in short, about making the request personally ; but Sir James Graham, who was decidedly in favour of the Lords instead of the Commons for Lord Dufferin's political aspirations, counselled him to tell the Minister frankly in writing that he wished for an English peerage, that he had conclusively adopted Free Trade principles, and was prepared to support the policy of the Whig government. His letter received a courteous reply, and six months later Lord John wrote to him that the peerage would be granted. Nevertheless, the subjoined letter from Sir James Graham shows that even then he did not accept without some hesitation.

December 26, 1849.—"Your messenger has this moment arrived, bringing me your letter ; and he presses for an immediate answer, being anxious to rejoin you.

"If I had not previously reflected on the question which you submit to me, or if I had any doubt in my own mind, I should pause before I ventured to give you any advice in a matter of so much importance.

"Lord John says that last year you announced to him your willingness to support the present government ; and you will remember that I told you the acceptance of the office which you hold in the Household of the Queen was an overt act of adherence, decisive in its character and binding as a pledge of political junction. According to my view therefore you have already taken the step which unites you to the Party of Lord John ; and he is generous in promptly rewarding you, by granting the object of your legitimate ambition. I have always been most anxious that you should obtain an English peerage if it could be won with honour ; and political union with Lord John Russell is an honourable and natural connexion when your friendships and relations, at least on your mother's side, are considered.

"Lord John is the Head of the Administration ; Lord John is the person who has treated you with the greatest kindness : this obligation is personal to him, and I do not think that you will ever have reason to regret your consent to be his political follower.

"You ask me whether I would advise you to make any stipulation before accepting. I would on no account advise you to exhibit either misgiving or reserve. I would recom-

mend you to accept the offer with cordial thanks, intimating that you feel the obligation which you owe to *him*, and expressing the confidence and the readiness with which you will support his government, inasmuch as you implicitly rely on his principles, his policy, and discretion. In a word, I see no danger in binding yourself to Lord John Russell as a follower. I should be more chary in expressing the opinion that it was safe to become pledged to the Whig Party if Lord John were no longer at its head.

"I have made exclusive mention of Lord John—I consider Lord Lansdowne identified with him; and it is with Lord Lansdowne more especially that you will come in contact in the House of Lords.

"In your answer to Lord John it may not be amiss to extend to Lord Lansdowne also the declaration of your political confidence and good will."

On January 31, 1850, he took his seat, as Baron Clandeboyne of Clandeboyne, in the House of Lords.

While the turning-points of his future career were thus being discussed and determined, Lord Dufferin had embarked on the high tide of social festivities: dining, dancing, masquerading, in official attendance at Court, going the round of race-meetings and country houses; making acquaintance in London with the notabilities of literature, politics, and the world of fashion.

The letters received by him in these years prove the affectionate regard of numerous friends, their enjoyment of his company and conversation, and the footing of pleasant intimacy on which he corresponded with them. Notes thanking him for wedding gifts, for verses to adorable ladies, or for kindly and generous help in trouble, allusions to delightful parties too soon ended, are mixed up with gratitude for charitable donations and liberal reductions of Irish rents, and with Presbyterian petitions against Papal aggression.

Lord Odo Russell writes to him—

August 28, 1850.—"I was delighted to find a letter from you on my return from Nuneham, expressing some anxiety about my spectacles. They are safe and at this moment on my nose. I hope you are satisfied with yours? What

you say about the society you are living in sounds very delightful. Lady Constance, the Misses Ellis (Lucia and Di), belong also to those creations that awaken and heighten my admiration for nature whenever I gaze upon them ;—but in a very different manner from the *Grus longi rostri* in the Zoological Gardens.

“ This is the party I met at Nuneham, Lord and Lady Georgiana Grey, Lady Ely with two daughters and two nieces (Miss Dashwoods—very nice !), K. Spencer, G. Vernon, Lord Dungarvon, etc., etc.—all very merry, but not in such boisterous spirits as the party I found there under your influence ! ”

In all this stir and glitter of amusement old acquaintance was never forgot.

Dr. Kitchin (now Dean of Durham) writes—

June 5, 1850.—“ You have, I dare say, heard by this time that I have doubled my class. Christ Church and the Pythic and I rejoice together. I look on the Mathematical List with great astonishment, for I hardly thought I had done any one paper well, and certainly many answers which I sent in were meagre and slovenly.

“ I have never had an opportunity of congratulating you on your seat in the Lords. I see you voted against the Bishop of London’s Bill—and perhaps the House was right in rejecting it. I quite think that more might be done by the Ecclesiastics for the *discipline* of the Church ; as for its doctrine I think the less fighting the better, and surely the Bishop’s Bill would open a way to a great deal of noise, and *Odium Theologicum* is a real thing—though it is very humiliating to have to think so.”

From Mr. Hepburn—

“ What a chequered day was last Saturday to me ! In the morning the pain of parting with my dearest ones—a few hours and I enjoyed such happiness with you—then those songs so sweet and so soothing—I said they were, but little I thought how much they would stand me in stead so soon when I wanted calm contentment. . . . How I dwelt upon all we had said and all I had heard and all I had seen while I was with you ! and forcing myself again either into the armchair in your room or by the pianoforte

I became calm. Oh, I did enjoy my visit to you, dear Dufferin, so very much—to find you quite the same (for I would not have you change in any way) was such a happiness to me. Nor do I forget the kind welcome that your Mother gave me.”

His way of life is annotated by the miscellaneous entries in his Journal—

“Saw Thackeray shaving! Breakfasted with the Bishop of Oxford; went down to the House of Lords to hear him speak, and was turned out of the gallery by the usher. Talked for some time with Gladstone. Had my head examined and was told that I had no political ambition. Talked to Sharman Crawford about tenant-right—took a lesson in reel-dancing.”

And so on from day to day, with a constant interchange of letters between him and his mother. She writes from Clifton in March 1849—

“I am glad the Queen observed you at the Levée. I think it is a sign she has heard you well spoken of, which is always a sweet-smelling sacrifice to my nostrils. I have removed from the hotel because, though very comfortable in other respects, they kicked up such remarkable noises over my head, under my feet, and on both sides of me, that I never got a wink of sleep there. I am now in possession of a tiny parlour in a small cottage, ground floor, with a broad, low sunny window. I rather enjoy this primitive parlour simplicity in my way of living. I have animated colloquies with the butcher and baker through my window, as, being on the ground floor, they naturally consider themselves on the same level, and persist in offering their gifts through the window to save me the trouble of answering the door. I vainly endeavour to look dignified through the window-pane. My menial situation is evident to them, and I continue to seem ‘the housekeeper’ to their philosophical eyes.”

In August 1849 he was in Dublin to receive and wait upon the Queen during the first visit that Her Majesty made to Ireland. On the day of the Queen’s arrival

he had gone to see Lord Breadalbane at a house near Kingstown—

“ While we were waiting in his room which commanded the bay the Royal squadron suddenly sailed round the point. It was a beautiful sight, the sun was just setting behind the Wicklow mountains ; there was not a ripple on the water, and thousands of people were crowding down upon the pier. Directly the yacht had entered the harbour the men-of-war started and manned their yards, the populace shouted, the drums played, the yachts hoisted all their colours ; and I felt that it was a fine thing to be a Queen. She was standing upon deck amidst her children ; and just behind her I could see Lady Jocelyn talking to Lord Fortescue, and then I felt as if it were a finer thing to be a Lord-in-waiting.”

So even his loyalty fell behind his personal devotion, and he had his reward—

“ In the evening while I was talking to Lady Jocelyn at Phoenix Lodge, she told me that the Queen had been laughing at my long hair, and afterwards I saw them talking together and looking toward me ; and then the Queen sent Breadalbane to say that she would like me to be in waiting at the Levée next day.”

All this and much more was written to his mother in a letter still redolent of youthful gaiety. He notes in his diary the Queen's embarkation on her return voyage from Kingstown harbour—“ a very touching sight—the people shouting, ‘ When will you come back, darling ? ’ ” Thence he set off on a tour through the country, inspecting several estates, looking into cottages and workhouses, finding still great destitution and disease—the condition of the poorest class being such that emigration seemed to him the only effective remedy—sojourning with various Irish magnates, and sleeping at one house in the dining-room with a friend who “ snored with a brogue.”

The subjoined letter to Lady John Russell uninten-

tionally places two very different impressions in strong contrast—

“I never witnessed so touching a sight as when the Queen from her quarter-deck took leave of the Irish people. It was a sweet, calm, silent evening, and the sun just setting behind the Wicklow mountains, bathed all things in golden floods of light. Upon the beach were crowded in thousands the screaming people full of love and devotion for her, her children, and her house, surging to and fro like some horrid sea, and asking her to come back quick to them, and bidding her God-speed. I do not like popular demonstrations of applause; generally speaking there is something terribly humiliating, I think, in the sight of an enthusiastic mob. It always reminds me somehow of the meanness and baseness of humanity, but this time I was neither shocked nor disgusted. It was a beautiful historical picture, and one which one thought of for a long time after Queen and ships and people had vanished away. I suspect that she too must have thought of it that night as she sat upon the deck, and sailed away into the darkness—and perhaps she wondered as she looked back upon the land which ever has been, and still is, the dwelling of so much wrong and misery, whether it should be written in history hereafter that in *her* reign, and under *her* auspices, Ireland first became prosperous and her people contented.

“Directly after the Queen’s departure I started on a little tour round the west coast, which I had never before seen, and there I saw such sights as could be seen nowhere else. The scenery is beautiful and wild, though the dampness of the climate makes it to me inexpressibly melancholy. Indeed, I would always prefer for a continued habitation to live among golden cornfields, and green lanes, and sweet peaceful villages, rather than amidst the most stupendous mountains the world possesses. But after one has been travelling for a little while in the far west, one soon loses all thought of the scenery, or the climate, or anything else, in astonishment at the condition of the people. I do most firmly believe that in no other country under the sun are there to be found men so wretched in every respect. To me it appears that their condition is hopeless. All along the west coast, from north to south, there has been allowed to accumulate on land utterly unable to support them a dense population, the only func-

tions of whose lives have been to produce rent and children. Generation after generation has grown up in ignorance and misery, while those who lived upon the product of their labour have laughed and rioted through life, as though they had not known that from them alone could light and civilization descend upon these poor wretches. . . . Neither can any one living at a distance have any notion of the utter absence of all public spirit among the upper classes, and it is this that makes the case so hopeless. Legislation can do nothing when there is nothing for it to act upon. Parliament to Ireland is what a galvanic battery is to a dead body, and it is in vain to make laws when there is no machinery to work them. In fact, a people must be worked up to a certain point in their dispositions and understandings before they can be affected by highly civilized legislation, otherwise you fire your laws over their heads, and unless the postulates are already there all political calculations must be nonplussed. Now it is only individual exertions, and the personal superintendence of wise and good men, that can ever drill the Irish people into a legislatable state."

Against the glitter of Court festivities at Dublin this description of life in the west stands out in sombre relief ; the Castle and the cottage are evidently far apart. In reading these letters one is much inclined to regret that the royal visit to Ireland could not have been extended, with Lord Dufferin still in waiting, beyond the sea-coast. There was no levity in the compassion that he always felt for the Irish people.

In November he was again in England, at Windsor ; kissed the Queen's hand, and took in to dinner the Duchess of Kent. He played Patience with the Duke of Wellington, who told how one of his aides-de-camp asked him if he had ever seen Queen Elizabeth ; shot creditably with Prince Albert, and of course revisited Eton more than once.

Lady Dufferin's letters add their usual zest and flavour to the mass of his correspondence with men and women of all sorts and conditions.

"I am writing to you on my knee from the steamboat

on the Rhine. Big mountains are peeping into the window and looking over my shoulder to see what I am saying about them. . . . 'Du reste'—as the French Consul said of the Princess Esterhazy in writing her *signalement*, 'je n'ai que de charmantes choses à en dire'—for they are beautiful. Little towns and villages dressed up in vines are going by me like dreams. The waiter is rushing madly up and down the companion-ladder with fried potatoes in his hand. German students dressed in carpet-bags, pipes, and beards are lying upside down on all the benches, and the Rhine is roaring and rushing by us in full swing."

From another letter may be given, by way of contrast to the Rhine scenery, a sketch of her environment taken from the parlour of a hotel at St. Leonards—

"I am now sitting in a sort of lanthorn parlour, furnished with black mohair sofas and chairs which I believe to be stuffed with shells from the beach. . . . There is a pleasant, low roar from the beach, suggestive of wrecks, and a light pattering of rain on my lanthorn windows, intimating wet for to-morrow, which is further confirmed by an ill-looking weather-glass outside the door, which has got down so low that I think the mercury will be under the necessity of turning head over heels and coming up on the other side, in order to attain fair-weather point again. I know nothing of the outside appearance of things, as it was dark when I arrived, and no moon has been seen on this coast for some weeks past. I can dimly make out the form of a policeman in an oilskin cape glistening in the gusty glare of a gas-lamp under the window, but I won't be certain it is not a post. There is a large dark mahogany sideboard with a diminutive cruet-stand staring in a ghastly fashion at me from the other end of my lanthorn, the curtains are of a dull sage green, the waiter squints, and Moody 'can't conceive whatever she could have gone and done with the key of my dressing-case.' With this climax of horrors I bid you good-night, my darling. Take care of yourself, and oh! be careful out shooting."

Of one of their intimates she writes—

"The Fiend is departed; he fought us all round the evening before leaving, first about poor laws, and then

about Prussia. We parted on the worst of terms, with mutual execrations, but remorse took possession of his black heart, I suppose, as I received soon after from an anonymous hand the gift of a frightful blue-velvet pin-cushion set in Tunbridge ware, which could have originated only from him."

And a letter written in 1849, upon hearing that an English peerage was promised to her son, contains a prediction that is a remarkable instance of Lady Dufferin's political foresight, at a time of popular agitation in England and abroad, when most people were prophesying that the rising flood of democracy would swamp the British Constitution. She is quite in favour of his joining the House of Lords, because—

"It is quite true that for the last forty or fifty years the House of Commons has been the great arena for such purposes and aims as yours; but the last forty or fifty years have been a grand blow out of liberal and progressive principles, such as the world absolutely needed, and demanded by its voice. I believe this present day to be a crisis brought about by the usual tendency of human events, and that the next forty or fifty years may prove in some measure reactionary in their course, in which case the House of Lords will necessarily play a more considerable part."

Next year he is at Paris, dining at a café with Count d'Orsay, Lord Brougham, and Alexandre Dumas, "noisy but amusing;" and in May he registers a dinner in London at Lady Ashburton's—"Peel, Carlyle, Ellice; Carlyle saying Sidney Smith had no humour, was coarse and like a Yorkshire innkeeper." There are several entries about the death of Sir R. Peel in July 1850 by a fall from his horse. When Lord Dufferin first called at the house to inquire, no hint of Sir R. Peel's danger was allowed to escape; but on the same day "Sir James Graham told me that Sir Robert, the night before his accident and on the following morning, seemed in bad spirits. Lady Peel came down to see him mount his horse, when he stooped down, threw his arms round her

neck, and kissed her before all the servants." Peel died on July 2, and when Lord Dufferin was at Netherby in August, Sir James Graham showed him Sir Robert's last letter to him; and mentioned that in 1845 Lord Heytesbury wrote about the Irish famine to Peel and himself by the same post; and that they (Peel and Graham) immediately wrote to each other letters which crossed, each proposing a change in the Corn Laws.

He was now universally welcome at the balls and dinner-parties of the London season; a consummate dancer, and of infinite wit and vivacity in table talk; nor is it strange that temptations of this sort occasionally interfered with his Parliamentary duties. A kindly but pointed note from Lady John Russell warns him that his absence from several important divisions had been noticed by the Premier, to whom (as she reminds him) he had very recently professed the conviction that he could not serve his country better than by supporting the ministry. Upon this hint he appears to have bestirred himself; for in July 1850 he made his maiden speech in the House of Lords.

"Very nervous, and the silence chilled me. The Queen, however, as she was going to bed, asked me how my speech had gone off, saying she had heard it was very good."

In 1851 he was constantly on duty at Windsor ("Visited Lady Jocelyn in her room. Suddenly the Queen came in, and made me a low curtsy in fun"); and upon Lord John Russell's resignation in February 1851 Lord Dufferin's Journal gives the inner view of a grave political crisis—

February 22, 1851.—"Johnny, Aberdeen, and Sir James Graham met at Buckingham Palace at half-past nine. Saw Sir James at seven, very grave. Johnny did nothing all day but sing 'The Queen of Hearts, she made some tarts,' very unhappy because he could not remember the rest. To Lady Palmerston's in the evening, and to White's; everybody chattering and asking for news. The Queen has evidently discouraged Stanley."

Lord Stanley was unable to form a Ministry, and Lord John Russell resumed office in March. In August, when Parliament was prorogued, Lord Dufferin started for a tour on the continent, travelling through Belgium to Cologne, down the Rhine to Baden, and thence by Munich and the Tyrol over the Stelvio Pass into Italy.

"Milan" (he writes to Sir James Graham) "is at this moment no very cheerful spectacle. Its streets absolutely overflow with foreign soldiery, Croats, Tyrolese, and Austrians. Many of its palaces, confiscated in 1848, its club house and some of its churches, have been turned into barracks; its theatre is almost deserted: and all the people breathe nothing but hatred towards the alien occupiers of their town. The government are frightfully severe, enforcing martial law in its utmost rigour, and seem determined not to allow themselves to be turned out a second time."

Turned out, however, the Austrians were, within eight years from that time. Lord Dufferin went on to Venice, whence he writes to Lady John Russell—

"Venice is little better (than Milan), its beautiful place of St. Mark is disfigured with cannon and piebald sentry boxes, while dotted over the lagoon are a quantity of guardships with 42-pounders pointed at the Doge's palace. This very morning there have been commenced the foundations of a new fortress at St. Giorgio, which is to contain I know not how many guns, and will, when an opportunity occurs, be able to knock down the entire city in half an hour. A fortress at Venice, moreover, *can* have but one meaning, and whenever it shall rise glistening and blinking out of the water, in the midst of the grey-headed old palaces, no one will mistake it for anything but the dragon that guards the captive maiden of the sea. St. Mark's brazen horses have indeed been bridled. Nevertheless, it is owing entirely to the Austrians that Venice is at all extant, for had it not been for the Government, who have made it a free port, and have peremptorily forbidden the proprietors of the old palaces to pull them down for the purpose of employing the materials in new erections, the whole place, as

Byron says, would have sunk like sea-weed to the place from whence it rose."

He journeyed on by Florence to Rome, where he halted some time, had a long interview with the Pope ("most gracious: I told him the truth about Ireland"), and conversed with Manning, "most charming and gentle," but much subdued in mind and manner—"one can scarcely believe one is talking to the author of those vigorous burning sermons."

In 1890, when he was ambassador at Rome, and Manning was a cardinal, Lord Dufferin wrote to him—

"It is a long time since we have met, but when I came to Rome perhaps my most vivid association connected with the place was a walk I took with your Eminence some thirty-five* years ago along the banks of the Tiber."

Lady Wantage, who knew him well in Italy at this time, has written—

"My earliest recollections of Lord Dufferin are at Venice in the autumn of 1851, when he and Lord Gifford appeared on the Grand Canal in a small india-rubber boat, or rather tub, which freak on the part of the two mad young Englishmen caused much excitement among the people, accustomed to the calm dignity of gondolas.

"In the winter of the same year he was at Rome, entering eagerly into the interests and pleasures of the Eternal City, and forming one of a group of young Englishmen, enthusiasts in the pursuit of art, among whom were besides himself Lord Gifford, Sir Coutts Lindsay, and Herbert Wilson. Then I first knew his mother Lady Dufferin, and young as I was, her beauty, her charm of manner, the sparkling brilliancy of her talk (and her kindness towards myself), made a strong impression on me. She and her son lived in a square white house, that stood alone, above the steps leading up to the 'Trinita di Monte' and commanding from all sides glorious views over the city.

"The cosmopolitan society of Rome that winter was singularly varied and brilliant. English beauty was repre-

* Thirty-nine (?).

sented by Colonel Mure's stately daughter (afterwards Lady Ribblesdale) and by Miss Lindsay, daughter of General James Lindsay of Balcarres, whose graceful figure rose like a slender, flower-crowned lily stalk amid other flowers of gaudier hue. She was the embodiment of all that is tender and pure in womanhood, and Lord Dufferin felt the spell of her charm and the attraction of her singing. But when spring came on they each departed and went their ways, to meet in after-days as old friends, with perhaps some halo of Roman memories."

Lord Dufferin was in England again by the beginning of 1852, and for the next two years his diary records innumerable social engagements, yachting voyages, visits to Ireland, hasty memoranda of where he went and what he did, with notes of his reading and painting. He dedicated a Latin poem in rhyme to one of the ladies whom he was just then adoring, and of course sent it also to his mother, who "thought your monkish ditty very pretty—I hope the Egregious Virgin was pleased with it."

Here are a few lines that light up again for a moment a brilliant scene at Lady Constance Sutherland Gower's marriage with her cousin, Lord Grosvenor, more than fifty years ago. The wedding breakfast was given in the gallery at Stafford House. He writes—

"Babylon itself could have hardly shown, in the days of her glory, such a beautiful picture as the staircase of Stafford House, when the marriage party came streaming down like a beautiful torrent of lace and laughing faces, and sweeping gowns, and then dispersed in a hundred little channels at the bottom, while in and out, amid them all, ran half a dozen children, who seemed to have been borrowed for the occasion from fairy-land." *

The references to politics and the course of public events are scanty, yet he was much in the society of leading statesmen, and the events of 1852 were of excit-

* Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's pleasant "Reminiscences" (among the earliest) commemorate this wedding.

ing importance abroad and at home. In December 1851 Louis Napoleon had destroyed the French Republic, and Lord Palmerston's unauthorized approval of this *coup d'état* had brought about his dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship by Lord John Russell. The Prime Minister defended this act of authority in a brilliant speech ; and Lord Dufferin wrote—

“ Nothing could have been more triumphant and creditable both to Lord John and the Queen than the result of the explanation between him and Lord Palmerston, who seems to have treated everybody very cavalierly, and to have done everything that was most injudicious. His defence was very coldly received by the House of Commons, and he seemed to me to be dispirited and full of misgivings. Lord John was very much cheered, and Sir James Graham says he never saw any ministry open a session so creditably. . . . Palmerston is completely floored, and people seem to think he is not likely to rise again.”

Within one week after this was written (February 1852) Lord Palmerston had completely floored Lord John Russell, who was beaten on Palmerston's amendment to the Militia Bill, when the whole ministry resigned. News of Lord John Russell's defeat had reached Lord Dufferin while at dinner with Sir James Graham, and he wrote to his mother—

“ At last we (*i.e.* the Government) are out.* The *coup de grâce* was given on Friday night by Lord Palmerston carrying with a majority of twelve, I think, an amendment on the Government Bill, by which the local militia they proposed, was to be transformed into a regular and more organized one.

“ With what has happened we have no reason, I think, to be dissatisfied. That we could not keep in was certain, that a break up of the party would tend to its better organization was also certain. Having to fall, the only matter for anxiety was that we should fall well, and this we certainly have done. No defeat of a Government has ever been

* February 23, 1852.

less of a triumph to an opposite party, for they owed it to an outcast member of that Government, in whose dismissal, however, from office; the country was forced by its sense of justice to coincide. Even to Lord Palmerston himself but little glory is likely to accrue, notwithstanding the dramatic character of the event. The question in dispute was a matter of but secondary importance, in which perhaps his view was the sounder of the two, yet from the uncourteous and unusual manner he forced this view upon him, Lord John could take no other course than that he did, which at the same time was the one most suited to his own interests, and least calculated upon by his successor. However, we have been beaten out at the end of a long struggle, but more by an accident, we have slipped into extinction, for our people had no notion what was going on, the house was very thin, and the unruly men who voted against us had but little notion where their vote would leave them. Finally Lord John's reputation as a leader, statesman, and speaker, has more increased upon the public estimation within the last three weeks, than ever it has done before. His triumph over Palmerston was complete, and the world was reminded of his energy and courage—his subsequent tactics were most adroit, single-handed he fought the entire battle, in spite of the ill will, old age, and unpopular mistakes of his colleagues, scarcely one of whom had not committed some error, the effect of which *he* had to prevent, and at last, the very night before his surrender of office, he made in defence of his absent Lord Lieutenant one of his most gallant, generous, and successful speeches, the House of Commons ever listened to. Even his enemies were carried away by it, and an expected defeat was turned into a majority of sixty. However, it is almost certain that by his opportune and premature death last Friday, he has saved Grey from an impending vote of censure, and thus preserved the Colonial Secretary's political existence which otherwise would have been cut off."

A Conservative government under Lord Derby's premiership succeeded to office. Upon this we have the following letter to Lady Dufferin :—

"I conclude that you will have seen by the papers the list of the new officials. It is but a sorry array of names, and the subject of many disrespectful jokes at the clubs.

Sir J. Pakington's is the appointment most cavilled at, and certainly no one has been more taken aback by it than Sir John himself. I met him yesterday and congratulated him, but he was very meek and humble on the subject, and though of course highly elated, spoke in terms of great misgiving as to his probable success. Johnny his son, my friend, is to be his private secretary, and talks of coming into Parliament. I am glad of his good fortune—for he was in great need of occupation, the amusement of his marriage having begun to wear off.

"My great hope is that at length Sir James will openly join Johnny, and unite with him in Opposition. That this would ultimately take place has been my firm belief for the last three years, but at the same time, so much of my own individual comfort depended on it that until it should be irretrievably settled, I could not help being full of anxiety. If by any unforeseen accident, these two great luminaries (which *now* I trust has become out of the question) should fly off into different hemispheres, I should certainly be scattered like dust upon the winds, for notwithstanding my love and veneration for Sir James, I should never have consented (had his kindness tempted me ever so much) to desert Johnny; at the same time, to have suddenly found myself in opposition to him would have been so painful, that I think I should have cut the whole concern for some years. A day or two must, however, determine this point for good, and if it is decided in the manner I hope and expect, there will be few happier hearts in this world than mine, as far as political influences are concerned."

To Sir James Graham he wrote a month later—

"Ever since the reassembling of Parliament I have been in town, and very disagreeable it has been, nothing but the bitterest winds, and the political atmosphere not much more genial. Indeed, at this very moment, it seems to me we are in a peck of troubles, everybody scolding Johnny, Palmerston most impudent and triumphant, the Whigs ill-tempered and insubordinate, the Cabinet divided, Johnny intractable, and our party tactics in the completest confusion.

"In fact, I suspect there is a great attempt being made to throw the little ex-premier overboard, and that some of the honestest of his friends are unconsciously lending their hands to help."

The letter reflects, in fact, the general outcry against Lord John Russell's mistakes and inconsistency that arose among his own party, when he voted against the Militia Bill that had been introduced by the Tories, whereby he separated himself from some of his leading colleagues, and spread further disarray in the ranks of his followers.

"Last night at dinner" (Lady Dufferin writes to him) "I sat between Sir W. Temple and Lord Holland, and heard them abuse Johnny across me, whereat I maintained dignified silence."

Lord Dufferin has jotted down the heads of a subsequent conversation, in May, with Graham on the causes and circumstances that determined the Liberal Ministry's decline to that memorable fall, which marks, according to Sir Spencer Walpole, "a distinct epoch in the political history of England." * Sir James Graham told him—

"That Morpeth dates the decadence from the Durham letter and the Papal aggression Bill.

"That the new Reform Bill was the key of the discontent in the Cabinet.

"That Johnny ought not to have pledged himself to it, as the country did not want it; but that having done so, it was necessary to make disfranchisement a principal element.

"That when Johnny made overtures to him he had intimated this opinion.

"That Lord Lansdowne and Seymour objected to disfranchisement, and others in the Cabinet.

"That Johnny suffered himself to be overruled, and thus became responsible for a Reform Bill he himself did not approve of.

"That, in the same manner, he let a Militia Bill be forced upon him by Lord Palmerston, although he himself did not approve of it.

"That after Palmerston's quarrel with him, and his experience of the ill favour a Reform Bill, spoilt by his colleagues, met with at the hands of the country, Johnny

determined to break up a Cabinet which had become intractable, and had got him into these scrapes.

"That in voting against a Militia Bill, he merely expressed his sincere convictions, his own Militia Bill being Lord Palmerston's handiwork, and *not* his.

"That he thinks Johnny has undoubtedly made great mistakes, but was in the main right.

"That with regard to Disraeli's speech on the Budget he (Disraeli) had in the Cabinet proposed a speech quite in a Protectionist sense, saying that it was 'a risk,' 'a bold game,' etc., 'but that he was ready to play it;' that Herries, who was jealous of him, objected, and said it would be better to go on the other tack, let things be, and not go back yet to Protection. That Dizzy agreed, said 'he thought he could make a pretty good speech in that sense.' That he came down, and spoke his remarkable oration, to the dismay of all his supporters."

His mother writes to him acknowledging the receipt of a speech made in Belfast, and pronouncing it admirable in arrangement and expression.

A brief note from the Duke of Argyll, after returning from a flying visit to Clandeboye in September 1852, says—

"I look back and say within myself 'The barbarous people treated us with no little kindness on yon wild Island.'

"What droll people you Paddies are! We had made a comfortable seat for Her Grace on a long tarpaulined package on deck when our servant came up and whispered that it would perhaps be better not to sit upon it, and on asking why, I was told it was a coffin with a body!

"Clandeboye dwells on our memories as a green spot across a blue sea, and white sails flapping *not* idly near. Lay me down in imagination at your mother's feet."

November 11.—"At 2 p.m. to see opening of Parliament. Lord Stanley gave up Protection with great appearance of frankness."

12th.—"Went to see the Duke of Wellington lying in State. A dreadful crowd. Though many things shock one, yet grand and impressive. Dined at Dr. Holland's. Two women crushed to death or smothered to death at the lying in State. Lunched with the Staffords."

At four o'clock in the morning of December 17 Disraeli's Budget was rejected by the House of Commons ; and in the afternoon of that day

"when we and half a dozen Whig magnificos were chatting on the railway platform, Lord Derby bounced in among us, to his evident disgust, on his way to Osborne to resign."

Unluckily Lord Dufferin's journal was evidently intended to be no more than a diary, with the briefest memoranda of public events and private engagements, all entered in the same rapid fashion, the hasty notes of one whose hours were overfull. And upon the whole the diary of those years (1852-55) reflects singularly little of a life that was full of opportunities for a man who could so well observe and describe, who was in almost daily intercourse with the leading statesmen of the time, had large access to the sources of information, and was living at the centre of politics and society during a very interesting period. Nevertheless, the subjoined letter from Lady Dufferin to her aunt (April 1853) shows that he had not been wasting his time—

"I know you will be really glad to hear that last night our Frederick made a brilliant speech in the House of Lords on the Maynooth question ; that he was excessively cheered, and listened to with the most flattering attention, and that this morning (in addition to many pleasant congratulatory notes and visits) Lord Aberdeen thanked him formally in the most flattering manner for his 'admirable speech,' and added 'that the Government had reason to be greatly obliged to him.' Is this not gratifying (when we consider how young he is in politics) to have the Premier make so pleasant an admission ? It has made me very conceited, as you may imagine, and I am in hopes that you will also share my pride. He spoke for nearly three-quarters of an hour with great spirit and eloquence, and the six Lords who followed him (on both sides of the House) each made mention of his speech and complimented him on the ability he had shown. Indeed, the Bishop of London (who rose indeed to anathematize him) was the most complimentary of all, and said that 'he had not intended to speak

at all on this question,' but felt himself called upon to answer Frederick's arguments, which, in my private opinion, of course he did not satisfactorily do."

Moreover, the management of his own estate, and the improvement of Irish land-tenures in general, were the subjects continually uppermost in his mind. To the "Lady of Lorne" he writes, in November 1853, from Clandeboye—

"Here I am, *home, home*—amid drenched fields, leafless bushes, and a misty mockery of a park, which nevertheless, against my better reason, I cannot help loving better than any place in the world."

And to his mother in February 1854—

"Although working so hard at my poem, I still found time to concoct during the autumn a Bill on Tenant Right. This I have just submitted to Sir James Graham, and contrary to everything that I dared to hope, he has assured me, that of all the bills drawn up on the subject, mine is the best, and that there is no doubt but that I shall earn great credit by introducing it into the House of Lords."

Poetry and politics were at this moment contending for dominion over him; he was like Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy in Sir Joshua's famous picture—

"Should my Bill succeed in giving satisfaction, I shall certainly feel very proud,—as the difficulty with which it is intended to cope is one that has puzzled many longer heads than mine, and remained for years the great impediment in Ireland. At the same time I cannot reconcile myself so easily as you wish to the thought of discontinuing my poem. I have never thought otherwise than you yourself, with regard to what the *main* employment of my life should be—hitherto all my studies have been chosen with the view of fitting myself for public life. . . . But in the first place, political distinction is of very slow growth, and only the result of a life of great drudgery and constant application, and hitherto I have not had the health to stand such discipline, and it is very certain, and the sooner

we both make up our minds to it the better, that unless an almost miraculous change in my constitution takes place, I can never hope to become either a distinguished or successful statesman.

"However this may be, I cannot conquer my desire to write while I am still young, and the world indulgent, *not a great poem*, which I know I could *never* do, but one little volume of good poetry, and this I feel as if I *could* do."

No such volume ever appeared; it was possibly extinguished by Lady Dufferin's criticism; and politics triumphed. On the last day of February Lord Dufferin spoke in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Bill for regulating the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, he also laid on the table his own Bill for providing compensation for improvements made by tenants. Long before this time he had convinced himself that the operation of the Ulster Tenant Right custom had become injurious to all parties by the abuses which had grown up under a system that had been originally beneficial. Under this system, as is well known, the outgoing tenant was entitled to sell to the incoming tenant what was termed his interest in the farm—to demand a price for the value of the permanent improvements that he had made without having had time to repay himself for the outlay, and of which the new tenant would enjoy the profit. The bargain, thus stated, was fair enough. But the competition for farms had become so intense that the "goodwill" and residuary interest were often bought up by the highest bidder, at a rate far above a farm's real value. The incoming tenant had thus paid a price which left him overburdened with debt at heavy interest in addition to the landlord's rent; he began with insolvency and gradually fell into impoverishment. It was this mischief that Lord Dufferin's Bill was designed to remedy, by providing a legal scale of compensation for improvements, calculated on the principle that the value of these improvements diminished by effusion of time, and that the longer had been the tenure of a holding the less could

the outgoing tenant demand. He showed that the existing system broke down completely in Ulster under the famine of 1845-46, when the potato crop failed, and the tenants were overwhelmed by the double charge of rent and interest.

The Bill did not succeed ; but Mr. Barry O'Brien, in his retrospect over the course of Irish administration, observes that Lord Dufferin's speech in 1854 had not received the attention that it deserved ; for he had been one of the foremost to declare that the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland were " almost of a barbarous character ; " and he had refused to admit that they could be regulated by free contract. Nevertheless, in 1860 Lord Palmerston's government passed an Act laying down the principle that these relations must be based on contract ; and the conclusion stated by H. S. Maine, in his treatise on Ancient Law (1861), " that the movement of progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract," may be taken as embodying the general theory prevalent at that time in regard to legislation for Irish land-tenures. Political economy, treated as an exact science of infallible demonstration, still held its ascendancy, and free trade in land was the remedy accepted by our statesmen for curing agrarian troubles in Ireland. As a matter of fact, in the two countries where the British government has been forced to deal with land-tenures on a large and important scale, in Ireland and India, the legislative movement has taken a direction contrary to Maine's proposition. In Ireland, at any rate, the application of this doctrine made no progress, but only threw society backward into greater confusion ; the tenants were alarmed by ejections, and agitation against the landlords increased. Ten years later, when Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill was before the Lords in 1870, Lord Dufferin was able to remind the House that in 1854 he had proposed a measure by which the tenants would have been invested with a retrospective right to their improvements, under conditions almost identical with

those adopted in the law that was then passing, to which he gave his cordial assent.

SECTION II.

THE BALTIC AND HIGH LATITUDES.

IN 1854 the scene changes, and the Journal at once expands when it becomes the log-book of Lord Dufferin's first adventurous voyage, for he was eminently one who delighted in the sea, and who was made to take his pastime thereon. The Crimean war had begun, and after the usual round of London dinners and dances, Lord Dufferin sailed from Portsmouth in his yacht, the *Foam*, with Lord Arthur Russell and others, for the Baltic. The diary describes in some detail the course and incidents of the voyage, as, after touching at Calais, they ran up the North Sea to Gothenburg on the coast of Sweden ; until in the first days of August they sighted the English and French fleets anchored off Aland island in the Baltic Sea, just when the attack of Bomarsund, a fort on that island, was impending. The party from the *Foam* went on board the *Duke of Wellington* (Admiral Napier's flagship), where almost all the captains of the English fleet were assembled. On the sea, and surrounded by men of action, Lord Dufferin found his congenial element, and the diary begins to glow with warmth and colour.

“ The whole scene ” (he writes) “ was very exciting and interesting. The splendid fleet, full of motion, music, piping, and hoarse boatswains' voices. Barges skimming about in all directions, with their captains' flags flying astern ; while every now and then ‘ boom ’ went the report of some huge gun from a seventy-four practising her men at the target. Unfortunately she was also practising her rifles, and as now and then some crooked-eyed fellow tried his hand, whiz went the ball past our noses. . . . A beautiful

sunset, which I saw from the stern gallery, sitting on a sofa beside the old admiral."

Lord Dufferin wrote for the *Cornhill Magazine* (November, 1898) a spirited description of the siege of Bomarsund as seen from the deck of the *Foam*, which is largely transcribed from his Journal. Like many imaginative men (of whom Goethe was one), he was evidently anxious to try the effect of inoculation with the war-fever, to test himself in situations that string up human energies to their highest tone, to witness the reality of what every one reads about, and to feel the sensation of being actually under fire. When, therefore, Sir Charles Napier, who was not the man to baulk him, asked him whether he had a wish to see a shot pass over him, Lord Dufferin closed with the proposal and went on board the *Penelope*, a ship that was ordered to run within range of a Russian battery, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was effectively armed. The *Penelope* not only drew the enemy's fire, but her crew were so busy watching the shots that she was not stopped before she grounded on a rock, and Lord Dufferin passed two hours in perilous exposure, until the captain very properly insisted on his leaving the ship, several men having been killed on deck near him.

"I entreated him to let me stay. Though staggered by my earnestness, he still persisted, and as it was no time to complicate his troubles or occupy his attention, I at length consented to go upon his offering to give me a written order to retire out of fire."

He was taken on board the *Hecla*, where "pretty much the same scene was going on, shot every now and then striking her, or splashing in among the crowds of boats collected between the two ships. I had just gone forward for a better view, when smash comes a round shot, striking the deck close by the starboard great gun, and covering me with a hail of splinters. The men were very angry at being exposed to fire in this way, and

cursed Sir Charles for not covering them with one of his big block-ships." At last the *Penelope* heaved her guns overboard and got off, after having been a target for the enemy during nearly four hours,—apparently a somewhat rash and maladroit manœuvre that must have procured for both the Admiral and Lord Dufferin rather more information and experience than they desired.

Next day the captains of the *Penelope* and the *Hecla* both wrote to Lord Dufferin—the former to "make my peace for so unceremoniously ordering you out of the ship. . . . I told the Admiral I had never seen more pluck in my life, and that your persuasive powers almost prevailed against my better judgment;" the latter "to assure him with how much satisfaction he had witnessed Lord Dufferin's coolness and presence of mind while on board the *Hecla*, when exposed to the galling fire of the enemy's batteries."

Not yet content, however, with this trial of his nerves, Lord Dufferin joined a party to visit the trenches of the French army investing Bomarsund.

"It was a lovely sunshiny morning; the air was loaded with the wholesome smell of the pine woods which clothed the valleys; and as we passed upward through the heathery, rock-strewn slopes, wild flowers, butterflies, the hum of bees, and the odour of the sweet-scented shrubs, encompassed us with a sense of peace and beauty which contrasted strangely with the violence of the drama in which we were about to engage.

"We started and met a French surgeon, who advised us to keep near the hillside, as the fire from the fort was hot, and a man had just had his arm carried away. Proceeding a little further, 'Bang! boom,' went two shots over our heads into the marsh. On we went, however, finding parties of French soldiers in every little cleft of the broken surface, until we arrived at the trenches. Here we stopped to breathe and chaff the soldiers;—shot, shell, and grape whizzing every now and then over our heads, and everybody laughing beneath. Thence to the French battery, composed of five mortars, protected by bastions of sand bags. In order to reach this place we had to wait until we heard

the shot fired, and then run before they had time to load again."

They slipped across from battery to battery, running the gauntlet of fire in the open intervals; and finally, seeing a white flag hoisted on the fort, they walked straight up to the gate, were sharply ordered back by a Russian officer, who cried to them that the place had not yet surrendered, and regained cover under a satisfactory shower of balls and bullets. Men of Lord Dufferin's temperament like to brace up their nerves to the full pitch of such military music; yet one cannot but conclude that there was a strain of recklessness, almost foolhardiness, in hazarding so many chances of quieting them for ever. When the fort did surrender, he entered it with the French troops—and found himself in an oval courtyard, in which were crowded 1,800 Russian soldiers, fine men enough, but their odour exceedingly powerful.

"The loss" (he wrote) "on either side was insignificant. As for the Russians, I believe scarcely a man was slain; and to us as much damage was done by our own weapons as by anything else. One night two French regiments mistook each other and fired on their friends; the noise awoke the enemy, who joined in the chorus, with the result of two or three killed and some wounded."

Lord Dufferin prevailed on the French admiral, who was there in naval command, to let him carry off "two beautiful field-pieces," but the French general intercepted them, and there was an awkward controversy between the two chiefs, until Lord Dufferin, always an adept at persuasion, eventually induced the military commandant to relent. Next day the yacht left Bomarsund, touched at Stockholm, and after a month's sailing the party landed triumphantly at Dunrobin on the coast of Scotland, with the field-pieces and a young walrus that Lord Dufferin had bought on his homeward route. The narrative, as given in his *Journal*, brings out into strong relief Lord Dufferin's active, enterprising character, his delight

in the variety and contrasts of life, his eagerness to make the most of opportunities, to see and feel whatever might be stirring in the world around him. He had planned another voyage to the Crimea, where the most famous siege of modern times had just opened, but he was compelled to abandon this project by a sharp attack of fever, from which he had barely recovered at the year's end.

In a letter of December 1854, from Clandeboye, to the Duchess of Argyll, Lord Dufferin describes his convalescence—

“Like a crescent moon I am daily gathering strength, though still with the uncomfortable peaky appearance of that planet in its infancy—very much scooped out in the middle, and not quite so straight in the back as might be wished. My life is of an antediluvian simplicity, getting up at six, a candle-light breakfast, dinner at one, and to bed at nine; my outdoor employment is the planting of trees; the rest of the day I devote to drawing, business, and the brushing up of my Greek which was becoming rusty. . . . I have written three or four more poems while I was in bed; but my mother, who can do so much better herself, rather discourages me by the little heed she has to such gear.”

His mother, writing to him during his temporary absence from home, says—

“I don't feel quite happy about your skating, in spite of your protestations of discretion and care; it is a horrid amusement, it must make your nose blue and may crack your skull, besides the chances of drowning. We have had two clever professors from the ‘Godless College’ at Belfast staying with us last night, one had a wife with him to take care of him, but the other being defenceless was instantly spifficated by Caroline,* whom we set at him (having no

* Mrs. Norton. “The figure of ‘Justice’ in the House of Lords by Maclise, is an exact portrait of Mrs. Norton taken from life. I think I showed you the original in oils. The dress in the fresco and in the picture is identical, but in the latter her hand is resting on a harp, whereas in the House of Lords she is holding a balance.”—Letter from Lord Dufferin to Dr. Richard Garnett, September 10, 1894.

other way of amusing him) with permission to do her worst ! The poor man was bowled over like a rabbit before he knew where he was, and is gone home in a frenzy of admiration of that 'remarkable woman.'

"I have taken advantage of Kennedy's temporary absence to make a raid into your room, and have taken thence two volumes which belong to me ! It is pity that men do not perceive what little advantage they gain by 'violent and roguish havings.' *De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.* . . . Austin defines covetousness '*quarum libet inhonestam et insatiabilem cupiditatem.*' Chrysostom calleth it a 'madness of the soul ;' Gregory, 'a torture ;' Budæus, 'an ill habit ;' Talleyrandus, the French philosopher, 'un défaut ;' Samuel Oxfordiensis, 'a custom to be avoided or concealed.' When these many and great authorities all set their faces against the practice of appropriating other men's effects, why *o puercule mi* do you persist in cribbing my Burton ? But this time I have got it safe at the bottom of my deepest imperial, and force alone shall deprive me of it. You may observe that its sudden return into my possession has somewhat coloured my style."

Lord Dufferin was able to be again in London by the year 1855, which opened with another ministerial crisis. Lord John Russell threw up his office, and threw over his colleagues, on the ground that he could not resist Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean war. His withdrawal dislocated the Coalition government. Lord Aberdeen resigned, and when Lord Palmerston became Premier, he deputed Lord John Russell, who had rejoined the Ministry as Colonial Secretary, to Vienna as England's representative at a conference of the four Powers, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, for arranging terms of peace with Russia. How these official changes might affect her son was naturally Lady Dufferin's chief solicitude. She writes from Ireland in February—

"I see by the Northern Whig's telegraphic news that Pam thrones it on Olympus, as was expected. I hardly know how this will influence your movements, and do not like to offer an opinion about your staying in or going

out, as you will judge best for yourself. Of course you will do nothing immediately. Any step that would seem to identify your views with Johnnie's, if he is decidedly in the wrong, would be unwise, but wherever the highest moral principles are not at stake, the next best is gratitude, and we certainly owe that to the little man. So many good Whigs belonging to the new government makes me look upon his conduct as fishy, but a woman is no judge of political hearts."

Again (February 26, 1855), on the ministerial changes and complications—

"We have been in a state of great chaos since you went: the Ministry *en l'air* caused a thick yellow fog, which was a type of our mental obscurity as well. I went to the Olympic Pam's on Saturday, and found all England sitting with its hair on end and its mouths open waiting for events. This desire was satisfied in the course of the evening by the news of Lord John's acceptance of office per telegraph."

Lord Dufferin notes in his diary—"Wrote to Johnny offering to resign [the Lordship in waiting], if pleasing to him. He replied, 'Stay in office and support Palmerston;'" and within a few days, when Lord John had been appointed to the Vienna Conference, he invited Lord Dufferin to accompany him as an *attaché* to his mission. The offer was accepted; and on February 20 they crossed the Channel ("Lord John with boxing-gloves on his feet") for Paris, whence, after some days' stay, they travelled to Berlin—"a miserable place, so dreary and cold." Here they heard that the Emperor Nicholas was dead, were presented to royalties and ministers, but soon discovered that the Prussian king would do nothing that might embroil him with Russia; so they departed for Vienna. In his diary for the seven weeks during which this inconclusive conference went on, Lord Dufferin is so discreet that only by a few casual allusions to the copying of despatches (he copied at least a hundred of them) are we reminded that he was among statesmen and diplomatists of the first order in

Europe engaged in very critical negotiations. And here again one is disposed to regret that while his vivid impressions of travel, of Arctic voyages and Baltic bombardments, are so effectively and fully rendered, he does not appear, at this time of his life, to have cared about storing up and setting down those recollections of important transactions, the impressions made by the characteristics or conversation of notable personages, in the clashing of international interests over the question of peace and war at Vienna, which a man with his acute perception and ready pen, who must have seen and known so much that went on around him, might have been expected to preserve.

A letter from Lady Dufferin anticipates the outcome of the negotiations—

“Yesterday there was a report all over the town that your conferences were broken up, and that Lord John, etc., were all on their way home with their tails between their legs. . . . I dined last night at the Ashburtons, the repast was flattish. B. Stanley was like Samson just after shaving, much subdued and saddened by a cold in his head, so that the Philistines had much the best of it. . . . Clanricarde attended the *Levée*; . . . the Queen received him much as usual.”

Finally, on the failure of all attempts to bring the four Powers into an agreement upon any terms of peace that Russia could entertain, the French and English envoys returned home with a private understanding to support a compromise that had been proposed by Austria. But Lord John Russell subsequently made a speech in Parliament against the proposals that he had pledged himself to recommend, and diplomatic remonstrances led to his retirement from office.

After returning from Vienna, Lord Dufferin seems to have resumed his usual way of life at home, much occupied with the improvement of his Irish estate, planting long avenues and enlarging the house at Clondeboy, taking his pleasure in London, and greatly appre-

ciated at Court, where he was still in waiting, though he had desired to resign.

"The other day" (he wrote to his mother) "I took advantage of Lord Aberdeen's being at the Castle to talk to him on the subject, as it had been he who appointed me, and he kindly undertook to mention my wish to the Prince. The result was a message from the Prince to the effect that such a step would annoy the Queen very much, that they were both very anxious to keep me, and that independently of every other consideration, my quitting the Court so immediately after Lord Somers' secession would leave a very disagreeable impression on the mind of the public."

Dining at Windsor in February 1856—

"I told the Queen about the man who leapt 21 feet. Nobody believed it. I said I had leapt 15. The Prince said, 'That is as far as the end of the table from Miss Bulteel.' 'If, sir,' said I, 'Miss Bulteel were on the other side, I could leap a foot further.'"

Yet he was certainly not one of those men for whom amusements are a serious occupation, or who find easy pleasures satisfactory. England was not so dull an island as Ithaca, nevertheless, like Ulysses, Lord Dufferin could not rest from travel, and heard the call of the sea. So in June, 1856 he set off "to sail beyond the sunset" into the Arctic north, on his yacht the *Foam*, with a bronze likeness of the Duchess of Argyll, by Marochetti, as her figure-head. The story of this voyage has been brilliantly told in his "Letters from High Latitudes," a book which has had a large and prolonged circulation, running through many editions. Nevertheless, for the purpose of maintaining continuity in this biography, some very brief epitome of his adventures may be admissible. And since the letters were first published nearly fifty years ago, it may be worth while to remind the present generation that they rank among the first and foremost in a class of literature that

was invented, one might say, by the author of Eothen—the amusing narrative of genuine travel. It is true that Robert Curzon's book on the Monasteries of the Levant stands high as an early example of this style; but though he visited the Levant in 1832, he did not publish until some years after Kinglake's book appeared in 1844. Keen yet good-natured insight into strange and simple morals, manners, and institutions, the habit of taking mishaps and hardships with humorous philosophy, of dealing sympathetically with men of the rough unvarnished world, and of giving a comical turn to petty incidents or vexations—combined with a strong sense of the picturesque, a taste for intelligent research, and an earnest interest in primitive folk,—these are the qualities which must be united for success in finding adventures and writing about them.

These letters show us Lord Dufferin in the prime of his manhood, captivating the Icelandic ladies by his lively courtesy, taking frolics and fatigues with equal zest, never flinching either before the deep potations of the hospitable Norsemen, or among the fogs and ice-fields that barred his access to Spitzbergen. His outward course was from Scotland, touching at the Hebrides, for Iceland, where he made several expeditions inland, and where the inhabitants, by no means barbarous, showed him much kindness. None who read the book will forget the banquet at Government House, Reikiavik, beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon and ending in broad daylight at eleven; when Lord Dufferin, after drinking to innumerable toasts from six wine-glasses that were always brimful (until he likened himself to the Danaides with their punishment reversed), delivered a fluent reply in dog-Latin to the Bishop's eloquent proposal of his health in the human dialect of that language—feeling, as he stood up, that he was suddenly disembodied, a distant spectator of his own performances, and hearing “at the end of each sentence the cheers, faint as the roar of waters on a far-off strand, floating toward him.”

For a contrast to this scene of jovial revelry we may turn to his description of the Arctic seas, as he beats in his yacht round the Spitzbergen coast, resolutely searching for an opening through the ice that encompassed those shores, and finding the passage to a landing-place almost at the last hour before he must have turned back. He was now within about the 80° parallel of north latitude, and still an impenetrable sheet of ice, extending fifty or sixty miles westward from the coast, held him off from the land—

“It blew great guns and the cold was perfectly intolerable; billow upon billow of black fog came sweeping down between the sea and sky, as if it were going to swallow up the whole universe; while the midnight sun—now completely blotted out, now faintly struggling through the ragged breaches of the mist—threw down from time to time an unearthly red-brown glare on the waste of roaring waters.

“For the whole of that night did we continue beating up along the edge of the ice in the teeth of a whole gale of wind; at last, about nine o'clock in the morning—but two short hours before the moment at which it had been agreed we should bear up and abandon the attempt—we came up with a long low point of ice that had stretched further to the Westward than any we had yet doubled; and, there, beyond, lay an open sea!—open not only to the Northward and Westward, but also to the Eastward! You can imagine my excitement. ‘Turn the hands up, Mr. Wyse!’ ‘Bout ship!’ ‘Down with the helm!’ ‘Helm a-lee!’ Up comes the schooner’s head to the wind, the sails flapping with the noise of thunder—blocks rattling against the deck, as if they wanted to knock their brains out—ropes dancing about in galvanized coils, like mad serpents—and everything to an inexperienced eye in inextricable confusion; till gradually she pays off on the other tack—the sails stiffen into deal boards—the staysail sheet is let go—and heeling over on the opposite side, again she darts forward over the sea like an arrow from the bow. ‘Stand by to make sail!’ ‘Out all reefs!’ I could have carried sail to sink a man-of-war!—and away the little ship went, playing leap-frog over the heavy seas, and staggering under her canvas, as if giddy, with the same joyful excitement which made my own heart thump so loudly.”

Next day they cast anchor in a calm and silent haven.

"I think" (Lord Dufferin writes) "that the most striking feature of the panorama around us was the stillness, and deadness, and impassibility of this new world: ice, and rock, and water surrounded us; not a sound of any kind interrupted the silence; the sea did not break upon the shore; no bird or any living thing was visible; the midnight sun, by this time muffled in a transparent mist, shed an awful, mysterious lustre on glacier and mountain; no atom of vegetation gave token of the earth's vitality: an universal numbness and dumbness seemed to pervade the solitude."

The figure of Wilson the steward, dismal and atrabilious, who saluted his master of a morning with the gloomiest news of the weather and the ice, in the voice of one foredoomed to perish, stands out as a foil to the skipper's cheerfulness. After leaving Spitzbergen they scudded southward before a spanking breeze ("The girls at home," quoth the sailing-master, "have got hold of the tow-rope"), looking in at Norwegian and Swedish ports, until in September Lord Dufferin landed at Ham-burg, leaving the *Foam* to finish a voyage of six thousand miles in Portsmouth harbour.

CHAPTER IV.

EGYPT AND THE SYRIAN MISSION.

IN regard to the part taken by Lord Dufferin in home politics, or to his views upon the stirring events of 1857-60, there is little or nothing on record. He writes from London in September 1857—

“ Here we can talk about nothing but India. The details [of the massacres during the Sepoy mutiny] are too horrible even for men to tell them to each other. If it were not for my mother, I would set off to-morrow in order to have a share in avenging those poor ladies. How all the miserable little interests and cares of one's daily life sink into insignificance beside these startling tragedies ! But how an event of this kind, which I suppose great sagacity and thoughtfulness might have guarded against, makes one feel what a solemn charge they undertake who make politics their profession. Yet directly any question, involving no matter what momentous principle, enters the doors of either House, all its virtue seems to leave it, it is never spoken of but with levity, as if blighted by an unwholesome atmosphere. At least, that is the case in the society through which I scramble.”

He writes to his mother, March 28, 1857—

“ At Campden Hill I met Livingstone, who has walked up and down the interior of Africa, as familiarly as we stroll Bond Street. His wife was with him, and falling into bad health, was brought round by a diet of stewed caterpillars. When Dr. Livingstone reached the coast, a native insisted on accompanying him to England, but the

poor creature was so overcome by the strange sights and sounds he witnessed on board ship, that he went mad, and finally drowned himself by climbing *down* the chain cable until he was dead, being a good swimmer."

In 1858 Lord Dufferin was voyaging in the quieter waters of the South. Having now substituted steam for sails, he took his mother from Portsmouth through the Mediterranean in a yacht—touching at Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Malta—to Alexandria, whence he visited Cairo, and was presented to the Khedive, Said Pasha, who "seemed to me a good-natured, irascible, bustling, childish man. He allows every one to cheat him, and his sole delight is his army"—a character that fits in closely with the reputation left by this prince in the annals of Egyptian misrule.

From Cairo Lord Dufferin set out in January on a voyage up the Nile to Karnak, Luxor, and Assouan. At Karnak he organized considerable excavations, and made a large collection of antiquities, mummies, figures, statuary fragments, sculptures, and inscriptions, many of which he brought home eventually to Clandeboye. His time on the river seems to have been divided between the study of Egyptology and the shooting of crocodiles and strange birds. For a month he was ill on board his boat; but by the end of April he was again at Cairo, climbing to the top of the great Pyramid amid the shrieks of Arabs who watched him, and exploring the interior. At Cairo he first made acquaintance with Mr. Cyril Graham, afterwards an intimate friend, and a colleague during his subsequent mission to Syria.

He writes at this time to the Duchess of Argyll—

"My recollection of the succession of each individual day is rather dreamy and indistinct. A broad grey river broken up by sandy banks, flowing between cracked cliffs of dry mud; levels of dark green cornland on either side sometimes shrinking into mere strips, sometimes spreading out into vast plains, as the parallel barriers of blazing limestone hills on either side approached or receded from the

shore, and a blue unchanging sky—formed the principal features of the landscape, so that it was with anything but regret we at last found ourselves among the granite defiles that encompass Elephantine, or ‘The Isle of Flowers.’ How Lorne would have enjoyed the *coup de théâtre* which was afforded by the sudden change from the placid sandstone to the riotous syenite! It is not until you see Assouan that you can form any idea of the freaks of which Pluto is capable. On all sides he has shot up, through the golden carpet of the desert, piles of molten stone that has vainly endeavoured to crystallize itself as it cooled into the decent symmetry of basalt. . . .

“Egypt, Syria, Greece, and Turkey once visited, my conscience will be clear, and I shall return in peace to Clandeboyce, with the consciousness of having seen the world. America will be the only part then unknown, and that I intend seeing some of these days with you and Lorne. In the mean time I am devoting myself to ancient history and Greek, which I hope thoroughly to master before I return. I have also given a good deal of time and attention to the study of hieroglyphics, which I found very fascinating, and made sufficient progress in to be able to interpret many of the simpler sentences carved on the temple walls.”

Then in May he proceeded to Alexandria, where Graham was attacked and beaten by some rough fellows with whom he had an altercation in the street. The Englishmen laid their complaint before the Governor of Alexandria, who confronted accused with accusers.

“The authorities were so afraid that we should be ready to swear to the first person who might appear, that they thought it necessary to warn us against accusing the Pasha’s pipe-bearers, who arrived at the same moment. We were then asked if the men were guilty. We replied yes, and they were ordered for execution”—the bastinado, which was commuted to imprisonment in the case of one gouty culprit.

Here Lord Dufferin embarked again on his yacht for Rhodes.

“Every inch” (of the town), he wrote, “is full of the

associations connected with the memorable siege of 1521. To this day the streets are encumbered with the enormous stone balls the Turks rained into the town, and all the walls are fringed with the brazen artillery with which the piety of Venice, Genoa, France, and Austria combined to decorate them."

Thence, after visiting Cnidos and Smyrna, he made his way to Constantinople by July 1859. Having there parted from his mother, he set off again in September for the Syrian port of Beyrout, touching on his way at Mount Athos, where he explored the monasteries. From Beyrout he rode with Cyril Graham to Damascus. Here they were welcomed by the Christian and Jewish communities, for it seems that they had been empowered by the British embassy to inquire into complaints of oppressive ill-usage made against the Turkish officials by the non-Mahomedan population of these parts. In a narrative of the journey Lord Dufferin writes from Damascus—

"We then proceeded by appointment to pay our respects to the Governor General of the province, a very gentleman-like-looking Turk in the prime of life. He had already been ambassador at Vienna, and spoke French with fluency. I remember our talk turned a good deal on the *Great Eastern*, in whose fate the Pasha seemed to take a great interest. How little either of us knew at the time in what tragic relations we were to stand towards each other a year later!

"I was also given a beautiful entertainment by the Jewish community, who at that time were rich and flourishing, and considered themselves more or less under English protection. The *fête* took place in a large chamber, or rather hall beautiful with arabesque ornamentations. But what struck me most were the costumes of the ladies, most of whom were young and beautiful. The married ones had shaved their eyebrows, which were replaced by a continuous line of black kohl, drawn right across the forehead. Their large Eastern eyes were made still more lustrous by being encircled with the same black preparation. On their heads they wore little caps, while their long black hair hung down their backs intertwined with strings of pearls or diamonds. They wore full plaited trousers of silk of various colours, and blue, red, or pink

silk jackets trimmed with silver or gold. Underneath these jackets were delicate muslin chemisettes, which, however, did not cover but met at the waist beneath their bosoms, which were left quite bare. . . .

"Another visit I paid to a rich Syrian merchant, a Christian. Through a narrow passage we came to a third door ; and then I suddenly found myself at the threshold of Paradise. Before us lay a large courtyard paved with marble, with a living river running through it, and interspersed with palm trees and a variety of scented shrubs. On all four sides there rose lofty structures of the most beautiful Arabic architecture, with highly decorated porches, doors and windows in the style of the Alhambra, with gilded lattices framed in lovely arabesque lace-work, and interspersed with intricate marble pillars, colonnades, and friezes—while every sign and symptom of the existence of the dust, tumult, and toil of the outer world was shut out. All that one heard was the twittering of the birds in the trees, the soft sighing of the wind through their branches, and the ripple of the little river singing on its way, the whole scene enriched by the splendour and the variegated lights and shades that are born of Syrian suns. We were greeted by a very gentleman-like young man in native dress, the master of this peaceful home ; and shortly afterwards his young wife, dressed like the ladies I have already described, with two little children of three and four, came forth to welcome us. She looked quite a girl, and was extremely pretty, with a beautiful fair complexion. Here we passed the remainder of the afternoon in pleasant conversation, my cicerone being an excellent Arabic scholar, and our host being very intelligent, and our hostess full of gaiety and merriment. The whole scene made a profound impression upon me, contrasting as its sweet tranquillity and peace did with the semi-barbarous depressing aspects and sense of general insecurity impressed upon the face of all Eastern countries by the maladministration of the Turks. A year later I returned to Damascus as British Commissioner, charged with the duty of investigating the causes and punishing the authors of the massacres in the Lebanon and in Damascus, which in the mean time had occurred. One of my first acts was to repair to the site of the spot whose pleasant amenities I have just described. The whole place was a mass of ruins, a labyrinth of burnt walls and devastated homes, while the happy little family group

that had welcomed us so kindly—the young merchant, his pretty wife, and the two little children—with thousands of other Syrian Christians, had been brutally murdered by the Turkish soldiery and the fanatical rabble.”

From Damascus they took the road over Mount Lebanon towards Jerusalem. At Hasbeya he notes in his Journal a story of the British Consul’s interference to protect the Druses.

“The Pasha tried to draw taxes twice over. A row. The Sultan’s troops defeated, and the victorious Druse chiefs enticed to Damascus, where they were imprisoned for speedy execution—Wood interferes ; the Pasha promises not to execute them, offers sherbet, telling a janissary, in Turkish, to cut off their heads and then to return saying the reprieve had come too late—Wood luckily understood Turkish, and is down on Pasha. Great row. Carries off all the Druse chiefs to the Consulate, and keeps them there nine months, until Stratford Canning gets the Pasha removed.”

They passed by the Lake of Tiberias (“sulphur baths full of Jews”) into the Samarian valley, climbed Mount Gerizim, went on through the mountains of Ephraim to Bethel, Ramah, and Gibeah.

“At last we drew near Jerusalem, Cyril taking great pains that I should not see it until the view burst on me from a certain spot. So we stalked the city. When it did come, it far surpassed anything I had imagined—the tears came into my eyes.”

They rejoined the yacht at Joppa.

“From thence we made the best of our way toward Athens, where my mother was awaiting me. Just, however, as we had entered the Gulf of Athens, and could plainly discern the temples on the Acropolis, a violent northerly gale sprang up, during the course of which we drifted a long distance to leeward, and finally picked ourselves up in the harbour of Milos. The harbour of Milos, like the

harbour of Mitylene, is formed by the craters of two submerged volcanoes, the upper lips of which remain above the sea, except where, at a particular spot, part of the circular edge is broken down and forms a passage through which storm-driven vessels can find a safe anchorage within the land-locked circular basin they surround. As soon as the gale moderated we again got under weigh for Athens."

After a fortnight's voyage from the Syrian port they sighted the Piræus.

"A beautiful sunrise. The Western hills all deep purple, the sky grey, but a broad zone of gold along the East, and the islands swimming high in golden haze—the plain of Athens in mist, with the Acropolis and other hills rising up like islands out of it."

From Athens they travelled home overland to London by the end of January 1860.

In the following May he spoke in the House of Lords on the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, laying stress on the constitutional principle that a fiscal measure sent up from the Commons ought not to be rejected by the Peers, who nevertheless threw it out by a large majority against the government. Two months later Europe was startled by the news that in the Lebanon—the country which Lord Dufferin had so recently traversed—a series of horrible massacres had been perpetrated upon the Christian population; and the French government at once took up the matter very seriously.

It may be convenient to review briefly the course of events in Syria that preceded and led up to this catastrophe. Along the coast of Syria two parallel ranges of hills run from north to south, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon—the Lebanon sloping down to the sea-shore, while the Anti-Lebanon, divided from the other range by a valley, lies further inland. Eastward of these hills, in a fertile well-watered plain, is the city of Damascus. The northern district of this highland

country is mainly populated by the Maronites ; and on the south it is inhabited by the Druses. The Maronites are an ancient Christian sect who adhered to the Roman Church from the time when dissensions between Latin and Greek Christians divided Syria into two religious parties, deriving their name from a monk (John of St. Maron) under whose leadership they settled as a separate community in the Lebanon. Toward the end of the twelfth century they finally joined the Latin Church ; and in 1860 they had been for several centuries under the special protection of France.* The Druses are Mahomedan schismatics, for whom the Lebanon had originally been a refuge from the persecution of orthodox Islam. When, in 1831, the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha conquered Syria, the Mountain (as both ranges were called inclusively) was ruled almost independently by a local chief, the Emir Bashir, who submitted to the invaders ; and under his firm undisputed authority the whole region was fairly tranquil. In 1840 the European Powers forced the Egyptians to evacuate Syria ; but the Emir was maintained in authority, with an assurance, conveyed to him by the representative of England, that it would be the care of the four Powers "to secure to the inhabitants the laws, liberty, and privileges they enjoyed formerly under the authority of their legitimate sovereign." With the restoration of the Turkish sovereignty confusion and misgovernment reappeared ; until in 1845, under pres-

* "St. Louis, after enrolling under his standards some 40,000 Christian Mountaineers, was pleased to reward them for their devotion by granting to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon a solemn charter in which they were declared to form part of the French nation. Francis I., Henry IV., Louis XIV., Louis XV., availed themselves of various opportunities to draw closer the bonds which were regarded as uniting the Maronite nation to the 'mother country.' The Convention, at the very moment when at home it was hurrying the priests and the noblesse to the scaffold, enjoined upon its agents to continue to the princes and clergy of the Maronite nation the same protection which they had hitherto enjoyed, and Bonaparte, whilst laying siege to Acre, sent his secretary to greet the Maronites 'as French citizens from time immemorial.'"—Chiol, "French Diplomacy in Syria," *Fortnightly Review*, 1882.

sure from the European Powers, the Osmanli government deputed a Pasha from Constantinople to reform the administration, by whose settlement the Maronites and Druses were each placed under their own local chief, in subordination to the Turkish Governor of Syria. But it has been the consistent policy of the Osmanli Sultans, in their management of subject races, to maintain their own supremacy by encouraging feuds and dissensions, and under this system the traditional hostility between the two sects in the Lebanon constantly broke out into quarrels and bloodshed; so that the Lebanon was the focus of the political and religious antipathy which divided Christians and Mahomedans throughout Syria. The protection of the Christians, who were numerous in this province, had always been a matter of political concern to the European Powers. In the towns, particularly in Damascus, where they were a thriving community, the commerce was principally in their hands; and their prosperity, with the privileges that they claimed under Consular jurisdiction, exposed them to the envy and increased the fanaticism of the Mahomedans. In 1853 the Russian envoy presented at Constantinople an ultimatum, demanding a guarantee that all the orthodox Greek Christians in the Sultan's dominions should in future enjoy their rightful immunities without molestation; and the rejection of this demand was the original cause that led to the Crimean war. When, in 1856, the terms of peace were under settlement at Paris, the Sultan pledged himself to confirm by a public edict, and to execute, the measures that had been promised for the equal treatment of all his subjects, without distinction of race or creed, in regard to the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honour. The high importance of this formal decree was emphatically recognized in the Treaty of Paris.

It soon appeared, however, that the Sultan did not dare to proclaim, still less to enforce throughout his dominions, an edict which placed Christians and Maho-

medans on a footing of equality; and as the European Powers did not insist on his doing so, the proclamation had never been made in Syria, where, however, its purport was known sufficiently to irritate and alarm the Mahomedans. Meanwhile the Crimean war was said by a competent observer to have produced among the Mahomedans an impression that at least one foreign Power, England, might be relied upon for indulgence and support.

Various causes and circumstances had combined to render the Turkish government in Syria even worse and weaker than in other parts of the Osmanli Empire. The province, being distant from the capital, had been treated at Constantinople as an outlying Pashalic, in which the governorship and other high offices could be farmed out with more than usual impunity to the highest bidder; and the vendors made this traffic more profitable by frequently changing the officials, recalling them in order to make fresh appointments. "This system" (Lord Dufferin wrote afterwards in a despatch) "naturally resulted in the province being cursed with a succession of incapable proconsuls, chosen without any regard for their qualifications, ruthless in their oppressions, corrupt administrators of justice, and utterly indifferent to the interests of the people."

Moreover, these officials were for the most part totally ignorant of the language, habits, and character of a country in which they were strangers.

It was the practice of the Turkish war department, when some particular emergency required the assemblage of troops, to withdraw the regiments stationed in a province for temporary service elsewhere; and whenever they were in this manner removed from Syria, the long distances which had to be traversed in going and returning often left the province with a very inadequate garrison during considerable intervals. The effect was to provide the Governor with an excuse for inaction and timidity, and the mountain tribes with an opportunity for rebellious disorder. It was in one of these intervals that the outbreak of 1860 occurred.

In this way it had come to pass that in a province where a powerful and impartial administration was particularly needed, the Turkish rule had become more than usually impotent and corrupt. The inveterate blood-feuds between the Christian Maronites and the Mahomedan Druses in the Lebanon highlands required control by a strong hand ; but the Turkish governors found their advantage in neglecting to check, if they did not encourage, these tribal animosities, being very willing to see both parties weaken each other. In Damascus and other towns of the Syrian low country, where the Mahomedans largely outnumbered the Christians, the bias of the officials and of the army, which was entirely Mahomedan, was inevitably toward strong sympathy with their co-religionists.

Such being the general state of affairs and feelings, a fierce conflict broke out in May 1860 between the Druses and Maronites in the Lebanon. The Turkish troops not only refused to interfere, but in some cases, where the Christians surrendered for protection, they were disarmed and left to be murdered by their enemies. The Maronites were utterly defeated, their country was wasted with fire and sword, and the fiery excitement caused by these events spread rapidly through the country, until in July there was a savage rising of the Mahomedans against the Christians in Damascus.

When the intelligence of the outbreak in the Lebanon reached Paris, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, spoke earnestly to Lord Cowley, then British ambassador at Paris, on the reports that had reached him from Syria, saying that their publication would arouse universal indignation throughout France. He proposed the immediate deputation of a joint European Commission to make inquiries on the spot, and he pressed for the despatch of troops to support their action. The British government did not agree very cordially, and indeed showed considerable distrust of the proposal to send troops ; but some days later came fresh and worse news of the murderous riot in Damascus,

where a terrible slaughter of Christians had been made by the Mahomedans, who had burnt the whole Christian quarter of the city. The local Turkish officials had behaved with imbecility, cowardice, and cold-blooded treachery; they had made no attempt to save the Christians, and had abandoned to indiscriminate massacre large numbers who had allowed themselves to be disarmed under a guarantee of safeguard; while the soldiery, instead of protecting them, had joined in the massacres. It became necessary to act at once and energetically. The proposals of France were vigorously supported by Russia, the Prussian government readily concurred, and Lord Palmerston agreed, though with evident reluctance, that French troops might be landed at Beyrout. In the mean time the Sultan had deputed a High Commissioner with unlimited powers, Fuad Pasha, to restore order in the Province. The Five Powers signed a convention appointing a joint Commission; and at the end of July Lord Dufferin was nominated the representative of Great Britain.

Sir James Graham wrote to Lady Dufferin—

“I am confident that he will do well. The task is a difficult one. Although there may be wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, yet angry divisions lurk in the heart of a mixed Commission; and the sweetness of Dufferin's manners, combined with the firmness of his good sense, will triumph over every difficulty. While he conciliates, he will not be hood-winked, and is particularly well suited to deal with our ally. He is so unassuming that he never gives offence; he is so true, that a Frenchman would scruple to deceive him, and this is my *beau idéal* of an English diplomatist.”

In August Lord Dufferin set out for Syria. At Paris, where he halted for some days, he discussed the Eastern question with Prince Napoleon and M. Thouvenel, the French minister, reporting to the Foreign Office an account of his interview with the latter.

“On embarking at Marseilles” (Lord Dufferin writes)

"I found a very curious medley of fellow-passengers, amongst whom were a number of Garibaldian recruits in red shirts, Alexandre Dumas, accompanied by a young lady dressed as a boy, and one or two more rather notorious individuals. Having paid my respects to Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, I reached Beyrout on the 2nd of September. None of my brother Commissioners had arrived; and as my instructions required me immediately to put myself into communication with Fuad Pasha, who was to be our Turkish colleague, I determined to set off at once for Damascus, which I reached late at night on the second day of my journey."

In a letter to his mother he describes the state of that city, and his meeting with the English consul—

"But the most astounding sight at Damascus was the Christian quarter. No description can give you an idea of it. Imagine upwards of two thousand houses utterly destroyed, and their inhabitants buried beneath the ruins. I climbed up on one of the staircases that the flames had spared, and so was enabled to overlook the scene of desolation. As far as the eye could reach in every direction, there was nothing to be seen but vistas of ruined walls, burnt rafters, and courtyards choked up with rubbish. The utter silence made the scene all the more terrible, and gangs of dogs that went sniffing and prowling among the piled-up *débris* told too plainly what lay beneath our feet. Such a monument of human wickedness and sorrow I have never beheld. When I left the town I felt inclined to shake off the dust of my shoes against it."

"Poor old Consul Brant * I found very much shattered. During the whole time he was besieged in his house he showed the greatest calmness and presence of mind, and of all the Europeans at Damascus he was the only one who had the courage to make his way through the streets crowded with fanatical Moslems, in order to remonstrate with the Pasha. Four times did he go on this dangerous quest, each time at the imminent risk of his life. But now that the danger is over, the nervous system has given way, and he sometimes wanders in his talk. Fancy being shut up in a house it was impossible to defend, with one's wife

* British consul at Damascus.

EGYPT AND THE SYRIAN MISSION. III

and children, for ten days together, daily expecting death, and listening to the shouts and shrieks which proceeded from the Christian quarter as the massacres were going on, without the slightest prospect of relief. It would have been enough to try the stoutest nerves."

The subjoined extracts from a short record of his mission continue the narrative—

"I at once notified my arrival to the Turkish High Commissioner, and about midnight he received me in one of the chambers of the ancient castle of Damascus."

"At that time Fuad Pasha was one of the most remarkable public men in Europe—middle-aged, tall and handsome, speaking French in perfection, with the most charming manners, and a kind and amiable character. His position just then was a very difficult one. The Sultan and the Turkish government naturally regarded the advent of the Commission and of the French army with the utmost displeasure. Their desire was to throw a shield over their own officers implicated in the crimes of which Syria had been the recent theatre, and to Fuad Pasha was assigned the almost impossible task of satisfying the requirements of the indignant Powers, and of vindicating the independence of his Sovereign, and at the same time of averting their wrath from those with whom he was in close sympathy, namely, the inculpated Ottoman authorities, who were not only his co-religionists, but his colleagues and fellow-Turks; for it must always be remembered that in the eyes of great Ottoman dignitaries the Syrians and the Arabs were of little account, and were regarded more or less as members of an alien and inferior nationality."

Then followed an important and characteristic interview. The Pasha, speaking with much grace and plausibility, described how he had executed full justice upon the rabble of cut-throats and incendiaries in the city who had committed the massacres, hanging up men of no account by scores. The British Commissioner, after listening for some time, inquired what had been done to the Turkish officials, who were generally believed to have been much more culpable than the mob; and the Pasha replied that some of the principal officers, civil and military, had been sentenced to death by court-

martial. So far so good; but from what followed it became clear that Fuad Pasha, acting under instructions from his government, was intent upon saving their lives, and desired anxiously to obtain the British envoy's support in pleading their cause before the Commission.

"After he had gone on in this strain for some time I told him that it was better in his own interest and that of his Sovereign that I should be frank with him. The responsibility for the sentences must rest with the Court that tried these men, but he must not expect any assistance from me in furthering the mitigation of the punishments. The crimes committed had been awful beyond all precedent, and the guilt of those who had been privy to them, or had permitted them, could not be exaggerated. Moreover, it would be much better, on political grounds, that whatever punishment were inflicted should proceed from himself as the representative of his Sovereign than at the dictation of the European Commission and the European Powers, which certainly would be the result of any weakness or indecision on his part at this juncture.

"Fuad Pasha was much too shrewd a man not to understand the force of these arguments. He had built his hopes of saving the lives of his friends upon the complicity of the British Commissioner, and when this expectation failed him he at once made up his mind as to what was necessary to do, and before I left him he intimated pretty plainly that the sentences of the Courts-martial would be immediately carried out. On this I exacted from him a promise that the sentence on thirty or forty Arabs who were to be hanged the next morning should be commuted, and that no further death sentences of any sort or description should be pronounced. To this he readily agreed, for, after the grave determination he had reached in regard to the Turkish officers, it was no longer necessary to attempt to blind the eyes of Europe with a show of specious severity by hanging up strings of unconsidered Arabs.

"It was within an hour or two of dawn when I found my way back to my tent outside the town, and before daylight we mounted our horses on our way back to Beyrout. After proceeding a few miles on our journey we were overtaken by an aide-de-camp of the Turkish High Commissioner, who informed me that the five great Otto-

man officers I have mentioned had been shot. Such news was anything but exhilarating, but I had the satisfaction of feeling that for each life that had been taken, and as I was firmly convinced had been justly taken, a dozen poor fellows, probably infinitely less culpable, had been saved from the gallows."

The unusual promptitude of these executions suggested, indeed, to many minds a suspicion that the Osmanli government might have been interested in silencing those who might have betrayed its own complicity in their crimes. It is certain, at any rate, that to the European consuls and others the outrageous conduct of the local officials could only be accounted for on the assumption of connivance on the part of superior authority.

The establishment of a firm and fair administration over a population divided by violent antipathies of race and creed, has always been a task far beyond the strength or ruling capacity of the Osmanli Sultans ; and accordingly their policy, the policy of all Asiatic empires, has never been to obliterate or diminish, in any part of their dominions, these elements of turbulent hostility, but, on the contrary, to maintain perpetual discord for the advantage of their own supremacy. They divide in order that they may rule the more easily, with a strong natural bias on the side of their Mahomedan subjects. But since on this system the balance is always heavily against the Christians, they have habitually sought relief from the burden of oppression by appeals to Europe, and have exposed to civilized nations of their own faith all the corrupt abuses and the misdeeds of barbarous rulers. The interference of the European Powers in the affairs of Turkey has almost invariably been based upon their claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Porte ; nor has it ever failed to alarm the Sultans and to inflame the fanaticism of the Mahomedans. Here lies, indeed, the root of the danger to the ascendancy of Islam, which is a supreme article of faith and policy with a Mahomedan government and people. To extirpate it by crushing out the Christians would be an

effective remedy, but would be most hazardous politically. Nevertheless, in dealing with the Syrian outbreaks of 1860, the Turkish politicians apparently relied, not without good reason, on the jealousy of each other, and the mutual distrust prevailing among the European governments, to frustrate any decisive and concerted action. Consular warnings and diplomatic remonstrances failed to prevent, if they did not precipitate, a catastrophe; and in Syria, as thirty-five years later in Armenia, there followed the most terrible massacres recorded in modern history. Unluckily, the Syrian outrages were perpetrated at a time when the attention of Western statesmen was engrossed by momentous events and alarms elsewhere, by the battles and revolutions in Italy, by the state of affairs in America, and by the attitude of the French emperor, whose military power was creating alarm in England.

In these arduous and difficult circumstances, and remembering that with this mission Lord Dufferin's official career began, it is greatly to his credit that in his dealings both with the Turkish Pashas and his European colleagues, and in the writing of his despatches, he acted throughout with judgment, firmness, and generosity. On discovering, soon after his arrival, that the Christians in Damascus, who had escaped fire and sword, were in the utmost destitution, he supplied £500 from his own funds * toward their relief. Moreover, he gave ample proofs of having mastered the antecedent causes and existing conditions of a complicated situation. The policy of the European Powers had always been to favour a kind of home rule in the Lebanon; and for that very reason, among others, the Sultan's government, alarmed by foreign interference, had spared no pains to wreck this autonomous system, by encouraging

* "La lettre dans laquelle lord Dufferin explique à Sir Henry Bulwer ce qu'il vient de faire, est d'une noblesse et d'une délicatesse qui m'ont charmé. Avec quelle joie d'honnête homme il annonce que tous les enfants et toutes les femmes enlevés par les Musulmans ont été restitués à leurs familles. Il ne manque qu'une petite fille nommée Vardah."—["La Syrie en 1861." Par M. Saint Marc Girardin.]

the traditionary blood-feuds between the Christian Maronites and the Mahomedan Druses.

Lord Dufferin wrote in a despatch—

“ It is to be remembered that this is a country of vendettas ; that in the war carried on between the barbarian tribes which inhabit it, usages prevail as horrible as those which disgraced the Middle Ages of Europe. It is a principle received and acted upon by all alike, that when the ‘deen,’ or blood-feud, exists it is allowable to slay your unarmed enemy, and every male belonging to his house, wherever you may find them. In fact, beneath the full blaze of modern civilization we find in Syria habits of thought and practices prevailing for which the only historical parallel can be found in the books of Moses. That the Christians are to be exempted from the number of those subject to these savage influences cannot be pretended. A mere cursory perusal of the official accounts of the murders, feuds, and wars which have deluged the Mountain with blood during the last twenty-five years proves too lamentably how little influence their religion has had in mitigating the ferocity with which the traditional customs of the country have imbued them. The cruel manner in which they have taken advantage of the first opportunity afforded them to massacre old men, women, and children, even since we ourselves have been in the country, confirms in only too melancholy a manner this sinister conclusion.”

Among communities saturated with traditional fanaticism, accustomed to no law but the wild justice of revenge, the Turkish policy of gently fanning the smouldering fires produced a conflagration ; but the outburst of fanatic fury in 1860 went far beyond what the Turks had expected or desired. They had, in fact, overreached themselves, and had brought about a scandalous catastrophe that outraged European opinion and compelled intervention. The European Commissioners, after inquiry on the spot, recorded a unanimous conclusion that the Turkish authorities in Syria were at least no less responsible for the massacres than the Druse chiefs who had actually done the bloody work.

When, however, the Commission took up the question of punishing the Druse chiefs, there arose much divergence of opinion. The Turks were quite ready to use any opportunity of weakening the unruly mountain tribes and of abolishing their feudal independence; and with this object Fuad Pasha, presiding over the Special Court for the trial of offenders, desired to treat with indiscriminate severity those who had been principally concerned in the massacre of the Lebanon Maronites. Some of the European Commissioners, headed by the representative of France, were for allowing the Court's sentences to take their course. Lord Dufferin pressed for clemency, on the ground that warfare between wild mountain tribes, however savage it had been, must be distinguished from deliberate massacres. He argued, also, that the Christians had been to blame at first; and that, above all, the Turkish government had been wholly responsible for the chronic anarchy, the insecurity of life, the immunity of crime, and the prostitutions of justice in the Lebanon, for all the evils and scandals which had led to this disastrous explosion. He urged the necessity of protecting the Mahomedan tribes against the proceedings of the Turkish officials, who were encouraging the Maronites to denounce the Druses, in order that they might decimate them by wholesale executions, just as they had originally egged on the Druses against the Maronites, and had abetted the very offences of which the Druses were now found guilty. He opposed energetically the execution of one chief, Said Djenblat, a man of great influence, who was clearly implicated in a ferocious attack upon a Maronite town by the Druses, when many Christians had been killed and all their houses plundered, and whom the Court had sentenced to death.

So earnest, indeed, was Lord Dufferin's desire to protect the Druse chiefs from being treated as scapegoats for the benefit of the Turkish officials, that before leaving Syria he visited Said Djenblat in his prison, and put to him the direct question whether the slaughter

of the Christians in the Lebanon had been instigated or encouraged by the Turkish government. But the Said only answered, as might have been expected, evasively ; for information regarding secret intrigues is always very difficult to extract from Orientals, and even when it is obtained, is untrustworthy. Lord Dufferin's proceeding was by no means approved by his colleagues ; and a few days afterwards Said Djenblat died. The other Druse chiefs were imprisoned or transported ; but the sentence of death that had been passed upon them was not carried out. In the Said's case one may doubt whether Lord Dufferin did not protest too much, for the man's guilt was undeniable, the demand for retribution was hard to resist, and the Christians saw with disappointment the English Commissioner appearing as protector of their bitter enemies ; while his French colleague ranged himself on the side of the Maronites, and Fuad Pasha looked on with complacency at the dissensions that it was his business to promote among the European representatives. Lord Dufferin wrote to the Duchess of Argyll—

“ Our time here is being spent most sadly. If when I left England I had had any notion of the terrible responsibilities I should have to undertake, I do not think I should have had the heart to come. It is a terrible thing to feel that the life of many a man will have to depend on one's judgment, pluck, and skill. Moreover, my task is the most difficult of any. The other Commissioners are merely prosecutors. Provided those whom their governments are determined to think guilty do not get off, they need have no other care. But I am judge, jury, prosecutor, and counsel for the plaintiff all at once. These unfortunate Druses are in a most pitiable position. They have committed the most horrible crimes, they are being pursued with the extremity of rancour by the Maronites out of revenge, and by the French out of ambition ; they are being sacrificed by the Turks out of fear, and in the hope of saving their own people ; and yet their only friend is obliged to a certain extent to place himself in the ranks of their accusers. . . . My sole consolation here is reading

Shakespeare: every morning while my hair (my black hair) is being brushed, I read a couple of scenes in some pleasant comedy, filling the room with a vision of sunshine, roses, and quaint old-world merriment. It does take one so out of the present. Yet for all this, if not very happy I am very interested, for though you would not think it, business is after all my vocation. Tell Lorne * he does well to read my despatches. Their study will improve his style. It were well if he copied out a few three or four times over, after learning them by heart. Tell him, moreover, that I look to him to fight the Syrian battle in the House of Lords, and redeem by his eloquence all my mistakes."

When these controversies regarding the punishment of past offences had been determined, there remained the important question of preventing their recurrence. On the question of the future administration of the Lebanon, the views of the European Commissioners were again so sharply divided that Lord Dufferin found it no easy matter to hold his ground and sustain his views in dealing with his colleagues. The presence of the French troops in Syria was a material advantage to the representative of France; and the French commander, naturally reluctant to remain idle, insisted on displaying his forces, and marched into the Lebanon country.

"It would have been impossible" (Lord Dufferin writes from Beyrout) "to have kept General Beaufort here doing nothing. He is a determined man himself, his troops and officers were getting very discontented, and kept pressing him on. Fuad Pasha is mortally afraid of him, and can only get the better of him by cunning and deception."

The Prussian member was on the French side, while the attitude of his Russian colleague was ambiguous. There was a general impression that if, when the work of the Commission should have been terminated, the French army should be withdrawn, the whole country would relapse into disorder; nor was Lord Dufferin

* The Duke of Argyll.

altogether able to reassure himself or others against such a possibility.

In January 1861 he writes—

“ In insisting upon the evacuation of Syria by the French we have taken upon ourselves a very great responsibility, and as it will have been on the strength of my representation that our government will have based its opinion, or at all events as it will be on me that all the blame will fall if any disaster occurs, I am naturally very anxious.”

Meanwhile the Maronites, encouraged by certain movements of General Beaufort, and relying on the sympathy of the Commission, had begun to take vengeance on their enemies ; the Druses were flying from the mountains ; and the prospect of making a pacific settlement of the Lebanon was considerably obscured by the conflict of views within the Commission. As France had always affirmed the right of protecting the Syrian Christians, her representative pressed for the appointment of a Maronite chief in supreme control of the whole district, who should hold office for life and be revocable only with the concurrence of the European Powers—a proposal that was at once opposed by the representative of England.

“ For my part ” (Lord Dufferin wrote in a despatch) “ I can never consent to deliver up the other communities of the mountains to the tyranny of a half-barbarous Maronite who would necessarily be a mere puppet in the hands of a fanatical priesthood. . . . The sufferings of the Christian populations have been undoubtedly very great, and no member of the Commission has more heartily sympathized with their misfortunes than myself. The Turkish officials have behaved abominably, and it would be idle to excuse or extenuate their misconduct. It is to be regretted that populations professing our own religion should remain under Mussulman rule ; but it would be childish to allow considerations of this kind to blind us to the fact that on this occasion the Maronites have been the principal authors of their own misfortunes ; and that in a country like Syria,

with its unruly and motley population, the maintenance of order must be entrusted to the hand of Imperial authority."

Lord Dufferin's alternative scheme was founded upon his conviction that the mainspring of all misrule in Syria lay in the corruption and incapacity of the dominant officials at Constantinople. He desired, therefore, to place the whole Syrian province under a Governor, to be appointed for a term of years by the Sultan, who should be strong enough to resist intrigues and demands for bribes at headquarters, with unfettered jurisdiction over local affairs, a force of military and police at his command, and a Pasha subordinate to him for the management of the Lebanon highlands.

"The charge of ruling the Syrian population ought to be confided to a man whose position should be rendered independent of the baneful influences dominant at Constantinople. He should be relieved from the obligation of paying blackmail to those in power at home. He should feel himself sufficiently secure in his government to be able to defy the intrigues of his colleagues at the capital, and the exacting tutelage of European consuls in his Pashalic. His appointments, secured on the revenues of the province, should be on a scale sufficiently liberal to obviate the temptations to which a needy official is exposed. His enjoyment of power should be secured to him for a term of years long enough to enable him to acquaint himself with the requirements of the country, and to inspire him with an interest in the welfare of the people. Above all things, the selection of the individual should be made by the Porte in conjunction with the Great Powers, in order to secure the appointment of a person of talent and integrity."

But the Osmanli government, alarmed at the prospect of another viceroyalty on the Egyptian model, and greatly mistrusting governors who might be tempted to make themselves independent, demurred vehemently; and the English ministry, after favouring the plan at first, latterly withdrew their support from a proposition that might affect the integrity of the Turkish empire.

The arrangement finally settled was to place the Lebanon district under a Christian governor nominated by and directly subordinate to the Porte, who should be altogether unconnected with the tribes, and a stranger to the province—to be appointed for three years, and to be removable only on formal proof of misconduct. Tribunals representing different religions and races among the members were constituted; and administrative councils, nominated by the several communities, were established. And in May (1861) the French troops, whose general had been reluctant to leave without having found an occasion for using them in the field, were at last persuaded, much to Lord Dufferin's relief, to embark on their homeward voyage. Lady Dufferin, who was then in Syria, wrote in January to Lord Gifford—

“We are going on pretty swimmingly. I am in hopes that six weeks will finish the business, if only the French do nothing to embarrass the action of the Commission. They are so evidently *bent* on remaining here beyond the stipulated time, that they threaten to cause commotions, in order to make work for themselves! A young officer said this to me in so many words, affirming that it would be a disgrace to French arms to leave Syria *sans coup férir*. This is their idea of glory, and such is the discretion of troops sent to keep order and prevent bloodshed. A man in some authority among them said to a friend of mine yesterday—‘*Nous sommes 8000 hommes ici—il n'est pas nécessaire que nous comptions avec qui que ce soit, nous dicterons la loi à ce pays.*’”

The Commissioners were summoned to Constantinople, in order that their proceedings might be reviewed and finally ratified by the ambassadors of the Powers and the Osmanli government.

From that place Lady Dufferin writes about Lord Dufferin to her sister—

“I do not grudge the precious year out of his life, and can look with a certain degree of equanimity on his poor

worn, hatchet face ! Like the fish in the fairy frying-pan of the Arabian Nights, he has been paying his debt and doing his duty by his country, and even if the frying-pan is upset he will not have fried in vain. His departure from Beyrout was a universal sorrow ; rich and poor, merchants, sailors and soldiers—everybody seemed to love and look up to him, and he was tenderly kissed on both cheeks by the French general, his principal political adversary."

Towards the close of the Commission's proceedings Lord Dufferin wrote to one of his colleagues—

" On leaving England the last words Lord John Russell said to me were : ' Seek to gain no political influence yourself in Syria, nor allow any other nation to get any.' The first of these recommendations I have studiously endeavoured to follow, and your own straightforward and unselfish policy has rendered it unnecessary for me to pay any attention to the second.

" We have convinced each other, I think, that the good of the people of the country, and the well government of the Province, is the principal object that each has at heart, and this conviction has enabled us to arrive at once at a good understanding."

In a despatch dated May 1861, Lord John Russell conveyed to Lord Dufferin " the Queen's gracious approval of all his conduct during the whole period of his residence in Syria "—

" The ability and judgment which you displayed in dealing with the intricate questions which came under discussion, the temper and conciliatory spirit which you uniformly maintained in your intercourse with your colleagues, and the zeal with which, while caring for the exigencies of public justice, you endeavoured to consult the claims of humanity, would necessarily ensure for you the approbation and thanks of Her Majesty's government. But I have still greater pleasure in acquainting you that those qualities are warmly recognized by the governments of those Foreign Powers with whose representatives you have been associated in the arduous work of bringing about the pacification of Syria."

These transactions have been described at some length, because it was upon this mission that Lord Dufferin first proved that kind of high political and diplomatic capacity which is always in great demand for the foreign service of the British empire, with its manifold interests and responsibilities, its possessions, protectorates, and spheres of influence in so many parts of the world. Moreover, as political events of the first magnitude, were just then absorbing the attention of Europe, these Syrian affairs attracted comparatively little notice at the time, and have since been more or less forgotten. Yet the whole history of European intervention in Syria is still worth studying as a lesson in the sinister school of Turkish statecraft—a lesson, indeed, that had been forgotten by the European cabinets whose half-hearted intervention brought about the Armenian massacres of 1895-96. It is a standing example of the astuteness and audacity with which a weak Oriental ruler can elude the pressure of all civilized Europe, taking implacable vengeance on his subjects when they call in the foreigner, and evading retribution by his skill in fomenting jealousy among the Powers who had endeavoured to protect them. Throughout these proceedings the attitude of England was materially affected by a latent apprehension that the French might gain a footing in Syria; while the attitude of France betrayed a suspicion that the English were manœuvring to set up in Syria a viceroy who would have owed the creation of his office to their own influence. The French emperor had come forward as the rescuer of Christian communities from cruelty and extermination, upholding the traditional claim of France to be the protector of the Syrian Christians. In an open letter to M. de Persigny, dated July 25, 1860, Louis Napoleon repudiated with indignation the “pitiful jealousies and unfounded distrust of those who suggested that any interests except those of humanity had induced him to send troops to Syria;” and one may believe this declaration to have been genuine, at any rate when it was first made. That he was right to

insist on interposing cannot be denied ; nor could any interposition have been otherwise than futile if it had not been backed by a display of armed force. It is true that Louis Napoleon was just then much concerned to conciliate his Catholic subjects, to whom his dealings with Italian and papal affairs were very unpalatable. Yet there is no adequate reason for doubting that his motives for taking up the cause of the Syrian Christians were humane and disinterested ; while the apprehensions of the English ministry in regard to his ulterior designs laid them open to the retort that their own Turkish policy was directed by too exclusive a regard for their separate national interests and by traditions of general expediency. The charge of systematically propping up, upon considerations of this nature, an effete and barbarous despotism over Christian peoples, had been made against England on previous occasions of a similar kind ; and undoubtedly one may question whether the principle of maintaining the integrity and independent jurisdiction of the Osmanli Empire is worth all the misrule and injustice that have been more than once tolerated out of a reluctance to compromise it.

In the course of the Syrian Commission misgivings and some diminution of mutual confidence disunited the members, until from judges they became advocates to whom their clients might appeal. The Druses were convinced that the British representative was acting as their friend and protector. The Maronites believed the French representative to be the guardian of their cause. The result was that effectual measures of reform were subordinated on all sides to considerations of general policy, and the Christian rulers held each other in check until the Sultan was out of danger. Lord Dufferin's scheme was negatived on the ground that it would have encroached on the absolute authority of the Porte ; yet it was probably the only sure plan for securing the well-being of Syria. All subsequent experience has proved that under the government of Constantinople a just and impartial treatment of every class and creed is

unattainable, that pacts and pledges are illusory, and that the disorders, which are the inevitable consequence of intolerance, have never ceased in any province of the Osmanli dominions until it has been raised to some degree of separate autonomy.*

The following extract from a letter written to Lord Dufferin from Damascus some years later, attests the durable validity of the settlement † made by the Commission of 1861 :—

“ The great military and political events of the last few years must have turned the attention of every one in London from Syrian affairs, yet it must be still a satisfaction to your Lordship that the new government of Lebanon continues to be so successful. There is no province in Syria, none, I believe, in the empire, so well governed as the Lebanon. The Turks are supposed to be jealous of the success of the plan, but they have reason to be thankful that while Candia is on their hands, they need have no anxiety about the Lebanon.”

In 1864 Lord Dufferin delivered in Belfast a lecture upon Ancient Syria. This lecture merits some notice here because it illustrates to a remarkable degree the lively interest that he invariably showed in the history, the antiquities, the general character, and the salient

* In 1862 M. St. Marc Girardin published a book in which he reviewed all the proceedings of the Syrian Commission, and discussed at length Lord Dufferin's scheme for a Syrian viceroyalty; with the conclusion that it would assuredly have put an end to the future misgovernment of the province, if the joint opposition of France and Turkey had not compelled the English Cabinet to abandon it. And a much more recent book, ‘*Souvenirs de Syrie, par un témoin oculaire*’ (1903), written by one of the attachés to the Syrian Commission of 1860–61, gives a remarkably clear and impartial narrative of all the proceedings. At the end the author records his opinion that—

“ Le moyen le plus efficace de consolider la tranquillité et de faire de la Syrie l'une des provinces les plus florissantes de l'Empire, eût été, sans doute, de lui accorder l'autonomie qui avait hanté un instant l'imagination généreuse de Lord Dufferin.”

And he regrets that in 1861, as once before in 1840, the Osmanli government was enabled by the clashing of views and interests among the European Powers, “ to recover full possession of a province that the Turks had thoroughly deserved to lose.”

† See p. 121, *ante*.

features of any country in which he travelled ; his zeal in research, and his capacity for bringing his personal observations and experiences to bear upon past history, for connecting what he saw with what he had read in books, the present with the past. The scenery, the ruins of ancient cities, the relics of bygone races and religions, the manners and conditions of the people—all combined to confirm in him that impression of the immobility, the permanence of type, the unchanging conditions of existence, that so sharply differentiate Asia from Europe.

“ Think ” (he says) “ of what a thousand years have done for England, France, Germany, and the rest of Europe ; cast your eyes across the Atlantic ; contrast the America of to-day and the America of the seventeenth century ; look into the future and picture to yourselves the new century on whose threshold we are standing. Then turn to the changeless East, and behold the contrast. Time there seems almost shorn of his wings, and all things remain as they have ever been ; the accidents of the scene may shift, but the great routine of human existence is pretty much the same as in the days of Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar ; though Babylon and Nineveh lie waste, the chief cities of Syria are governed by Turkish pashas, if not by Assyrian satraps ; though the ten tribes have been lost, and the kingdom of Judah has been blotted out from the catalogue of earthly powers, a remnant of the people inhabit the ancient city, weep over its colossal stones, and return to lay their bones beside those of their fathers in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The yearly sacrifice of the Samaritans is still duly offered on Mount Gerizim, and the seat of Jewish learning and philosophy crowns a hill on the shores of Gennesaret, hard by the buried ruins of Chorazin and Bethsaida. The Bedouins of the Southern Desert still renew the incursions of their Amalekite forefathers round the sites of Ziklag, Ekron, Gath, and other Philistian cities. The dreaded Midianites still descend like locusts from the Eastern Desert, and cover the plain of Esdraelon and the valley of the Jordan with their black tents, as once they did in the time of Gideon. Pagan tribes—each ruled by its own chief, worshippers of strange gods—Moslem, Druse, Metawali, and Nazarieh—occupy, if not the same, at all events analogous territories to those possessed by the Hit-

tite, Hivite, Amorite, Philistine, and Jebusite. But a few years ago, a prince of Egypt repeated against the Sultan the aggression of Pharaoh Necho against Nabopolassar : while the period of the Judges, when there was no king in Israel, when every one did that which was right in his own eyes, when the book of the Law was lost, and contending tribes smote each other hip and thigh, sparing no male child, is only too accurately reproduced in the chronic blood-feuds and periodical massacres which still desecrate this miserable land."

To the continuity of history he attaches the right value ; he protests against the habit of subdividing it into Sacred and Profane, Ancient and Modern. And he sketches rapidly, with picturesque effect, the whole story of the vicissitudes, political and religious, that Syria has undergone, the conquests, the dynasties, the successive civilizations, their rise and fall, from the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Assyrian periods down to the time when the Macedonian conquest first annexed Syria to a Greek empire, thence to the long interval of Roman and Byzantine dominion ; until the irruption of the Mahomedan Arabs replaced the province under Asiatic rulership, reducing this ancient Christian population to ignominious subjection under the despotism of Islam.

As a rapid descriptive survey of an Eastern country and its people, with a well-drawn historical outline, the lecture must have been excellently suited to interest and instruct his audience. If, indeed, we may define the lecture as something between the essay and the oration, a composition both literary and dramatic, it may be said that Lord Dufferin possessed the qualities essential for success as a lecturer—the gift of broad lucid exposition, the knack of touching grave subjects with a light hand, and of producing the clear impression that captivates an audience, while it will also stand the test of leisurely reading afterwards. The immediate aim of an orator is to strike while the iron is hot ; the essayist relies on careful argumentative exactitude ; the lecturer may be said to steer a middle course, sketching broadly

the true outlines of his subject in a style that maintains interest and stimulates the imagination.

Another address that Lord Dufferin delivered in Belfast three years later deals with an entirely different question, but it may be quoted here to exemplify his method. He begins, adroitly, by disclaiming a capacity for venturing upon the illimitable subject of science in its application to the general improvement of human society; and he proceeds directly to a description of the circumstances affecting the social condition of Ireland by comparison with England.

"In the first place, Ireland differs from England and Scotland in that it possesses a very restricted manufacturing industry; secondly, in the peculiarities of its agricultural system; thirdly, in the enormous emigration which is annually flowing from its shores; fourthly, in the fact, that, while Great Britain is inhabited by what has now become a homogeneous people, the soil of Ireland is shared between two distinct races, still considerably estranged from one another; and, lastly, that whereas in Scotland and England there is an unanimity of sentiment on the essential principles of the Christian faith, in Ireland there prevails between these two sections of its population an irreconcilable difference of religion."

It would be difficult to put broadly into fewer words a comprehensive statement of important differences; and the lecturer at once takes up for his next point a deep and far-reaching proposition—that Religion has been much more powerful in Ireland, as an element of disunion and discord, than Race.

"The tendency of all races confined within a circumscribed territory is to amalgamate. No matter under what hostile auspices they originally came into contact, the result in the long run seems to be the same; collision leads to cohesion; the genius of the race which has been worsted in arms often asserts a permanent ascendancy over that to which it has yielded a temporary submission, while the common descendants of those once opposed to each other on the battlefield, recur with impartial pride to the achieve-

ments of either nationality, and flatter themselves that in their own persons are united the valour and virtues of both. But in Ireland any result of this kind was effectually hindered by religious dissension. Norman and Celt might commingle,—and the completeness of the fusion of the earlier English settlers with the native Irish has become proverbial—but a union between Protestant and Catholic was considered but little short of deadly sin and political treason by either party. That this should have been the case cannot be wondered at. Presented to the Irish nation by the emissaries of Elizabeth, under circumstances little calculated to illustrate their advantage, the principles of Protestantism conciliated neither its intelligence nor its affections. Subsequent events only rendered the novel creed more odious in its eyes; until at last the persecutions of successive governments, and the enactments of the penal laws, which scarcely left to them the feeling that they possessed a country, taught the great bulk of the Irish people to transfer to their Church and to their priesthood the fervid loyalty which, under happier circumstances, might have been given to their Sovereign and to the empire with which they were incorporated.”

Although these generalizations are not impregnable to accurate criticism, yet it would be impossible to deny that they possess great merit as rapid retrospective condensations of the historical causes and influences that had combined to produce the state of affairs existing in Ireland at the moment when the lecture was delivered. On the educational problem, which still awaits solution, he observes “that the Catholic priesthood, with some exceptions, object to the training of Catholic youth being taken out of their control, on the plea . . . that the devotional sentiment and religious convictions of young persons are liable to be deteriorated by the acquisition of secular knowledge apart from the elevating influences of ecclesiastical supervision;” and in these last words some may detect a slight flavour of irony. But he goes on to say “we are not arguing quite ingenuously when we affirm that a system of secular education is as impartially consonant to Catholic as to Protestant habits of thought and feeling. To do so is to

behave as the Fox did to the Crane, when he invited him to dinner. It is true there was the dinner, and a hearty welcome ; but the peculiar conformation of the Crane's throat proved a complete impediment to his enjoyment."

In his brief examination of the agrarian condition of Ireland, he brings home to his audience the consequences of wasteful cultivation by the remark—

" People unacquainted with agriculture, and many of those who write dogmatically on the Irish land question are in this condition, quite forget that land is a destructible material, and its productive powers more easily squandered than a pocketful of loose guineas."

In short, whether his topic was ancient Syria or modern Ireland, Lord Dufferin's lucid and impressive statement of his points, with the important facts well worked out, sometimes humorously illustrated, proves that in the art of lecturing he could be singularly successful.

CHAPTER V.

HOME POLITICS AND OFFICIAL EMPLOY.

LORD DUFFERIN reached England from Constantinople in the early summer of 1861; and after a visit to Ireland he set up a hunting establishment at Melton in November.

"Six horses in beautiful order, and in a hard frost. Such is my first experience of Melton." He went off in disgust to Chatsworth, and he was with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden in December, when the Prince Consort died. In February 1862 Lord Dufferin was charged with the duty of moving the address in the House of Lords in answer to the Queen's Speech, delivered on her behalf from the throne by the Lords Commissioners. His former position in the Household had placed him on a footing of intimacy with the royal family; he was always a faithful friend, full of sympathy with the griefs of those to whom he was attached, whatever might be their condition of life; and in deploring the death of the Prince Consort, as well as in his condolence with the widowed Queen, he spoke with the eloquence of genuine warmth and sincerity of feeling upon a theme that tested, as all funeral orations must do, the powers and tact of a practised orator.

Of the scene and his own feelings he wrote—

"The house was crowded, as were also the galleries, all the ladies being in black. At 5 o'clock exactly the Chancellor began reading the Queen's Speech, and when he concluded, up I rose. There was a dead silence, and for a

second the roof and room and benches seemed to me all confounded together in one mass of whirling confusion. However, this sensation soon passed off, and away I went, amid the dearest silence. No cheering, no expression of either dissent or approval, but one long *agony* of solitary exertion, which lasted for about five and fifty minutes, at the end of which I found myself reading the address it was my duty to move."

He concluded his speech by a reference to the deaths of two distinguished statesmen, one of whom, Sir James Graham, had been his guardian and his most trusted monitor, whose advice and guidance had been of the greatest value to him from his boyhood.

"On such an occasion it is impossible not to remember that since we were last assembled the service of two other trusted and faithful counsellors has been lost to the Crown and to the State—the one a member of your Lordships' House, cut off in the prime of his manhood and in the midst of one of the most brilliant careers that ever flattered the ambition of an English statesman—the other a member of the other House of Parliament, after a long life of such uninterrupted labour and unselfish devotion to the business of the country as have seldom characterised the most indefatigable public servant. My Lords, it is not my intention to enumerate the claims upon our gratitude possessed by those two departed statesmen; but, in taking count of the losses sustained by Parliament during the last recess, it is impossible not to pause an instant beside the vacant places of Lord Herbert and Sir James Graham."

When he went home his mother only told him that she approved, thought he had done pretty well, and that the peeresses in the gallery had been crying. Two messages, however, came afterwards from the Queen, in one of which she said, "Lord Dufferin's speech was beautiful, and the Queen does wish Lord Granville to tell him how much she has been touched by it."

On the day after this speech was delivered Lord Dufferin called by appointment at the India Office, when Sir Charles Wood offered him the government

of Bombay, which he refused after three days' consideration. On this he writes to the Duchess of Argyll—

“ Had I been alone in the world, I would have accepted at once, more especially as Sir Charles Wood very plainly told me that if I did well I might look to being promoted to the Governor Generalship at the expiring of my term of office. But if I had gone, my mother would have been after me in six months ; and if she had come the climate would have killed her—heat being more fatal to her condition than anything else. Am I not a dutiful son ? for I am very ambitious, and would risk anything myself in order to do something.”

Lady Dufferin wrote to a relation—

“ Your kind letter of congratulations on Frederic's speech in the House of Lords gave us great pleasure—it was a great success. You know that he was offered the Governorship of Bombay ; and I dare say you agree with me in thinking he was right to decline it. It was a fine position, with £12,000 a year ; but it would have been banishment for the five best years of his life, great risk to his health, and removing him from the political stage, where I hope he may yet play a part.”

Her judgment was probably right ; since, apart from filial considerations, it would have been a doubtful step in Lord Dufferin's own interests to leave England for some years just when a political career was opening for him at home. Moreover, the prospect of eventually succeeding to the Governor Generalship of India, upon which he laid stress, was in any case very uncertain ; liable to be affected by political change and other accidents. There has, in fact, been no instance of promotion to the Governor Generalship directly from the subordinate governorships. And in the present instance Lord Elgin's sudden death toward the end of 1863 vacated the office within little more than twelve months, at a moment when alarming troubles on the North-West frontier of India induced the Ministry to replace him

by a successor of first-class Indian experience and reputation, Sir John Lawrence. Lord Dufferin, indeed, had at least as good a chance of being appointed from England as if he had been for a short time at Bombay. Some months later, when Lord Elgin died, the Duke of Argyll wrote to him that "only Lawrence's name stood in competition with yours for the Indian appointment."

In the autumn of 1862 Lord Dufferin married Harriot, daughter of the late Archibald Rowan Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, County Down. Her grandfather, Gavan Rowan Hamilton, C.B., was a distinguished naval officer, who served long in the wars against the French Republic and the first French empire, commanded a ship at Navarino in 1827, and rendered such assistance to the Greeks between 1820-24 in the Levant, spending much of his private fortune in their cause, that they erected a statue to his memory in Athens. His father was the well-known "United Irishman," Archibald Hamilton-Rowan, who was arrested and convicted of sedition in 1792, but escaped to France. The families of Blackwood and Hamilton of Killyleagh are related, having a common ancestor in Hans Hamilton of Dunlop, who died in 1608.

From this time forward to the end Lord Dufferin's letters to his wife attest his affection, and his impatience whenever they were apart. And nearly thirty-five years afterwards he wrote to his mother-in-law that to his marriage he owed the happiness of all his life, and the greater part of its success.

Next year (1863) Lord Dufferin was with his wife in Paris, where they were invited to pass several days at Compiègne, and the subjoined account of his visit written by him to the Duke of Argyll is decidedly interesting. It should be remembered that in November 1863 the Emperor had issued a circular Note to all the European Powers, proposing a congress to deliberate upon the question of Poland, where an insurrection had broken out; and that Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secre-

tary, had refused the concurrence of England in a despatch that set out his objections in a tone of some asperity.

Lord Dufferin writes—

December 20, 1863.—"As it may interest you to know what I gathered from my visit to Compiègne, I will not practise with you the same reticence I have been forced to use with your Duchess: I had several chats with the Emperor, for he evidently affected to assume a kind of cordial, frank, easy style with the English, who were his guests; and the gist of what he said is as follows.

"In the first place, he adopted the thunderclap mode in proposing the Congress from the conviction that although the idea would be scouted by the Cabinet, it would be hailed with such enthusiasm by the people of England, that you would be forced to agree with him, and even by the time my visit was concluded he was still so convinced of the miscalculation you had made, that he expected your refusal would cost you your seals. His predominant feeling was astonishment at the mistrust felt of him in England, real *bonâ fide* surprise; and when I told him that we should never get over his double dealing about Savoy and Nice, he seemed to consider it a most unaccountable cause of suspicion, explaining his denial of any design of annexation in the following way:

"He had made a secret treaty with the King of Piedmont, to give him a stated increase of territory before requiring any portion of Savoy to be ceded to France. When he was forced into the peace of Villafranca, by our want of sympathy, he had failed to fulfil the conditions stipulated, and no cession therefore could be demanded. It was just at this moment that Malmesbury asked him the question about annexation.* He unhesitatingly replied, *No*, and was quite justified in doing so. Then occurred Garibaldi's revolution, the flight of the Italian princes and the unity of Italy. By an unexpected process the face of things was changed. Victor Emmanuel had become the master of

* Lord Malmesbury had left the Foreign Office before the treaty of peace was signed at Villafranca; and probably the reference here is to a despatch sent by Lord John Russell, his successor, to Lord Cowley at Paris. But it may be noted that about March 1859 Lord Derby's government had information of the secret agreement for the cession of Nice and Savoy to France.

more than the stipulated millions, and the conditions of the secret treaty reacquired their original force. He had denied all intention of acquiring Savoy, but subsequent events had led to an annexation he did not contemplate when he published his denial.

"The addresses of the French Colonels published in the *Moniteur* was a simple oversight, and not a designed menace. In the multitude of loyal addresses sent in, it had been impossible to detect the objectionable language in which some of them had been couched.

"None of those about him, whom we imagine he most trusts, seem really in possession of what the French call 'le fond de sa pensée,' and I confess I could not feel quite certain whether the regret he expressed at our rejection of his Congress was real or assumed. The Frenchmen I talked to seemed to consider his design had been serious, and had not yet recovered their astonishment at discovering he had been in earnest, for they had at first imagined it had been simply a parade to cover his retreat from the Polish difficulty.

"He was constantly talking of the great results which the *bonâ fide* English and French alliance might have produced, and as constantly of the extreme improbability of that alliance being able to survive this last shock to its cordiality. He had hoped that, once the Congress started, England and France might have settled all irksome questions their own way.

"When I told him that a lady had informed me 'that the mass of the French people, even the educated ones, scarcely distinguished between Danes and Prussians, or Austrians and Hungarians, and even Russians—but that to Frenchmen all people beyond the Rhine were simply Germans,' and that therefore I supposed all on this side were considered French,—he said that undoubtedly that was a French dream; but that people might dream without ever thinking of carrying their dreams into effect, and that after all he did not see how the acquisition of the Rhenish provinces by France could injure us, and that undoubtedly if there had been a Congress, some slight modification of the northern frontier of France, to the extent perhaps of the extradition of a fortress here and there, might have been subjected to its consideration. But all this, in such neat and delicate language that no English can render its subtlety. This last observation I thought the most suggestive of any-

thing he said to me. He evidently wishes to render France more compact, and some plan is running through his head by which he thinks he can do so. Both he and the Empress were constantly alluding with envy to our insular position, and contrasting it with the facilities offered to an invader by the frontiers of France.

"It was very interesting talking to him, or rather hearing him talk, and his manner is very pleasant and soothing from its extreme composure. As he goes on, you can fancy yourself in an armchair watching magical wreaths of smoke turning into shape and form over some far-away dreamland. It is this tranquillity of manner which gives him such ascendancy over the volatile French. Combined with his belief in his own destiny, which the Empress told me never wavers, the wonderful success which has hitherto attended his scheming and dreaming is more easily to be understood.

"With regard to the question you put to me, what I feel is this,—that life is slipping by very fast, and that I have very little to show for the years that are gone, and that unless soon I have some opportunity of taking part in affairs, it will be too late altogether, as after forty, the necessary initiation is almost impossible. Whatever there was to be done in this part of the world I have either done, or am in the way of doing, and once a proper system organized, even an Irish estate does not give sufficient occupation.

"Of course I should prefer what would keep me at home, but I do not see much chance of any opening occurring there: consequently I am forced to look abroad, and I turn to Canada, because I should imagine it would be interesting, and especially because the climate would suit my mother, from whom I could not separate. It was on her account that I refused Bombay, as no very hot climate is possible to her, and the same consideration excludes almost all other foreign governments. When I heard of Lord Elgin's illness I thought it just possible that some change might ensue at one of the Presidencies, and that Monck might move into an Indian vacancy, but I knew this was only a chance, though I did not like to throw it away. I do not know whether Bulwer is to return to Constantinople, but if he did not, I would be glad enough to go there, and intend to tell Johnny as much; but I am afraid such an idea would not be compatible with justice to other more regular members of the diplomatic profession, though I consider

myself a legitimate graft on that honourable branch of the public service, after Syria.

"But one thing is certain, I cannot endure to be idle any longer, and though literary occupation is open to me, it will be with great dissatisfaction that I shall subside into that lower form of existence. However, I have occupied too much of my letter already with talking about myself."

From the latter part of this letter it is clear that Lord Dufferin found time hang rather heavily on his hands, and was now quite prepared to accept employment abroad. Early in 1864 the Duke of Argyll had been proposing Lord Dufferin for the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; but Lord Palmerston had offered it to Lord Wodehouse,* by whom it was accepted; so in November 1864 Lord Dufferin took his first ministerial office as Under Secretary of State for India, which he held until the Liberal government resigned in 1866.

Lord Dufferin's representation of India in Parliament was practically confined to the session of 1865. During that session he spoke at length once only, in reply to a speech by the Earl of Donoughmore drawing attention to the grievances of the officers of the late East India Company's army. It was his first occasion of addressing the House of Lords in an official capacity; and as he said, the subject was one of so complicated a nature, so encumbered with minute yet important details, that the task of explaining the points at issue both fully and clearly might have tested the ability of a practised speaker. As the whole question related to a state of things that has long disappeared, it may be sufficient here to mention that after the mutiny had disbanded the sepoy regiments in Bengal, it was determined to re-model the whole native army in India on a different basis of organization, under which not only were the native regiments reduced in number, but also the number of the English officers attached to each regiment was materially diminished. The inevitable consequence was

* Afterwards Lord Kimberley.

the abolition of a large proportion of the commands and emoluments belonging to the old system, so that active employ could not be provided, under the new system, for many of the officers on the roll of the East India Company's army; and their claims on account of loss of promotion, of regimental prospects and pay, had to be considered and adjusted. Lord Dufferin proved unanswerably that all these claims and grievances had been very carefully examined, that liberal provision for the compensation of genuine losses had been made, and that, on the whole, "the balance of advantage in the changes involved by the reorganization had resulted to a material extent in favour of the officers."

On April 7 Lord Dufferin gave a brief account in the House of Lords of affairs in Bhutan, where there had been some fighting; and in July he spoke briefly regarding the Oudh Talukdars. But Indian affairs were not prominent during the session of 1865; and the few questions of administrative importance that came before Parliament were discussed in the House of Commons. In February 1866 he was transferred to the War Office, where he held the Under-Secretaryship until June, when the Liberal government resigned.

In June 1867 Helen Lady Dufferin died, after a long and very painful illness. In the memoir prefixed to her "Songs and Verses," Lord Dufferin has recorded the fortitude and cheerful patience of his mother during the last months of her life, when she knew that the malady was incurable; and he has described how, on the morning of her death, she bade good-bye, calmly and tenderly, to his wife and their children.

"Thus there went out of the world" (he says) "one of the sweetest, most beautiful, most accomplished, wittiest, most loving, and lovable human beings that ever walked upon the earth. There was no quality wanting to her perfection; and I say this, not prompted by the partiality of a son, but as one well acquainted with the world, and with both men and women. There have been many ladies who have been beautiful, charming, witty, and good,

but I doubt whether there have been any who have combined with so high a spirit, and with so natural a gaiety and bright an imagination as my mother's, such strong unerring good sense, tact, and womanly discretion; for these last characteristics, coupled with the intensity of her affections, were the real essence and deep foundations of my mother's nature."

Four months later he wrote to the Duchess of Argyll—

"We are all pretty well here, my wife and children especially so. It was terrible coming back again, but the hurry and pressure of so much business was a good thing, though God knows I missed her advice and sympathy more than ever. I do not find that time makes much difference in one's feelings; though occupation shuts out the remembrance of the past during long intervals, the intervening spaces of recollection are as keen and vivid as ever. Nor do I at all find myself inclined to shun them: on the contrary, the memory of so much love and excellence is a precious and eternal possession."

Mr. J. L. Motley,* the distinguished American diplomatist and man of letters, wrote to Lord Dufferin—

"I have really felt a longing to say to you in words

* In Mr. Motley's published correspondence are several references to conversations with Lady Dufferin, among others her well-known description of the fantastic costume in which Mr. Disraeli made his first appearance in London society. For a specimen of overflowing whimsical fun see a letter from Lady Dufferin to her sister Mrs. Norton, who had written to enquire whether she would be expected to dinner one evening at Highgate, when there was a downpour of rain.

"DEAR CAR,

"Refuges have been erected at all the exposed parts of the road, pattens are provided for entering the dining-room; water souches and flounders will be the staple of the repast, with ducks, snipes, and other water birds. Beds—water beds—are provided for belated travellers; in short, every aqueous comfort that can be expected.

"I trust we shall be able to keep our heads above water, and have no doubt the little aquatic party will get on swimmingly.

"Seriously, you will all be very welcome; and what signifies the weather to determined souls in waterproof soles?

"Your affectionate Naiad,
"H. D."

that which I feel myself unable to do, except most imperfectly, by letter, how deeply I have sympathized with you in the irreparable loss which you have so recently sustained.

"It was among my most cherished anticipations—when returning for a few weeks' visit to England—to renew the acquaintance, the friendship even, with which I had been honoured by your mother. And I was the more shocked and saddened by the fatal news which I saw in the papers, because I had been erroneously informed that her illness had been taking a favourable turn.

"During these few days at Frampton, with Mrs. Norton and the Sheridans—those to whom she was so near and dear that her image is inseparable from them—the atmosphere seemed full of her presence. It was difficult for me to believe that she was no more. I seemed still to hear the musical tones of her voice, to enjoy the never-ceasing play of her wit and her subtle intellect, to feel the spell of her dainty, sportive, kindly spirit. All those delicate and most feminine graces and fascinations, which none can ever forget who had the privilege of even a brief personal acquaintance with her, appeared realities still. I say no more, for it would be an impertinence in me to attempt the portraiture of one so distinguished—even in a family where beauty and genius seem a birthright—of one whom there are so many to weep for and to praise. But as I had the happiness to know her well during my residence in England, and to receive very great kindness, hospitality, and proofs of friendship from her, which are for ever treasured in my memory, I venture to write these few words to say to you how sincerely I always honoured and appreciated her. Very rarely have so much personal charm and so much intellect been united with such tenderness, devotion, and truth of heart."

Helen's Tower, standing on the highest ground of the hill that slopes upward from Clandeboye, commanding a wide prospect over land and sea, was dedicated by Lord Dufferin to his mother in her lifetime, and remains as a monument of his devotion to her. After its completion in 1861, Lord Dufferin laid some of the chief living poets of England under contribution for epigraphical verses.

Tennyson's very graceful lines * were acknowledged in a letter of enthusiastic admiration—

October 8, 1861.—"It is very rare in this world that we poor human creatures can make each other supremely happy, but that is what you have made me. I received your note this morning containing the inscription, and all the day I have had that elated feeling which only great good-fortune brings. It is a marvel to me how you have been able to understand so well the kind of thing I wanted. After I had sent off my letter, I felt as if the whole subject must still remain a blank to you, and that I had asked for an impossibility. Indeed I myself scarcely knew what I wanted. I only felt in a kind of blind way that somehow something beautiful might be written, but until your packet arrived I could arrive at no conception of what form it could take. But you have solved the mystery in a manner surpassing all my expectations. The thought is so grand and simple, and my tower speaks in such nervous granite-like words. I think I agree with Mrs. Tennyson in preferring the first form, though at the same time I half grudge every line that is omitted, but this part of the question I cannot decide until I have seen my mother, whose taste is perfect, and who first taught me to understand and delight in your poems.

"What I like so too is the quaint Teutonic feeling which somehow seems to me to pervade the lines, at least so I fancy, and that is just what I had desired. You have indeed crowned all my Tower and all my wishes, and most grateful am I. Hundreds of years hence perhaps, men and women, sons and daughters of my house, will read in what you have written a story that must otherwise have been forgotten, and will reckon the kindness you have done me as one of the most honourable and noteworthy traditions of their line.

"Ever yours faithfully and gratefully."

* "Helen's Tower, here I stand,
Dominant over sea and land.
Son's love built me, and I hold
Mother's love in lettered gold.
Would my granite girth were strong
As either love, to last as long.
I should wear my crown entire
To and thro' the Doomsday fire,
And be found of angel eyes
In earth's recurring Paradise."—*Tennyson.*

Other poems added later—such as Rudyard Kipling's fine stanzas in honour of Harriot Lady Dufferin's generous and successful exertions on behalf of the Indian women, and Tennyson's verses addressed to Lord Dufferin, in gratitude for kindness to his son Lionel during his fatal illness in India—are among the inscriptions that decorate the upper chamber. So that the Tower, founded on affection, and adorned by friendship, is the shrine of many pleasant and honourable family recollections.

Lord Dufferin had quitted the War Office, as has been stated, in June 1866, and when Mr. Gladstone's ministry took office at the end of 1868, he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the interval he had accepted from the Tory government the chairmanship of a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of military education; and their first Report, drafted by him, was submitted in August 1869. It may be noticed as a somewhat unusual feature of an official document—illustrating Lord Dufferin's predilection, maintained throughout his life, for classic literature—that the Report is prefaced by a quotation in the original Greek from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, of a passage describing the natural gifts and acquired knowledge that must unite in a master of strategy.

We have to bear in mind that in 1869 a large majority of the officers who entered the British Army obtained their commissions by purchase, and were only required to pass an easy examination before appointment to their regiments; so that the proportion of those who went through Sandhurst was comparatively small. Some account of the condition of military education at that time may still have some interest, if only for the purpose of comparison with the state of affairs elucidated by much more recent investigation. Lord Dufferin's Commission found that at Sandhurst the system of teaching was very inadequate, that the teaching staff was inefficient, ill-organized, and out of personal touch with the students; that the inducements to industry were very slight; and

that the moral and intellectual tone prevailing among the cadets left much to be desired. The "cramming process," they reported, is almost universally resorted to by those who seek admission to the Army either through the colleges or as candidates for direct commissions, of whom scarcely more than five per cent. could be traced as coming direct from the public schools. And much of what was unsatisfactory in the conduct of the cadets was attributed to the time passed in the crammer's pupil-room. Within the college the discipline and the instruction were alike inferior, much idleness prevailed; and the professional training was pronounced to be slovenly and imperfect.

In short, the discovery made by this inquiry into the state of military education was that the system, if any could be said to exist, was exceedingly bad. The Commission found much doubt prevailing whether the drill and discipline given at Sandhurst were of any use at all; and they were led to consider seriously whether, on a review of practical results, the college ought not to be abolished. For that large majority of the officers who passed at once into the Army by purchase, no military education whatever was provided before they joined their regiments, and very little afterwards; though the Staff college was open to a few.

The two main principles adopted by the Commission in their recommendations for reform were, first, that some degree of general education ought to precede professional instruction; and, secondly, that systematic professional instruction ought to be a part of regimental training. With the former object they proposed to bring the entrance examinations into closer relation with the course of study at public schools; and with the latter object they desired that a staff of military instructors should be incorporated with the general military establishments. To enter into any details of their scheme would be now out of place; yet upon Lord Dufferin's Report we may accord to him the credit of having been a pioneer in the arduous and hitherto interminable enter-

prise of providing the British army with the necessary professional education. His views upon the proper methods of training the cadets and instructing them as regimental officers were on the whole sound and judicious; his recommendations, if they had been acted upon, would undoubtedly have been valuable improvements. But he was a pioneer only in the sense of having shown a way that was not followed; since the representations and proposals of his Commission appear to have been generally disregarded. In 1901 a Committee appointed to inquire into the state of military education, went over almost precisely the same ground as that which had been explored, thirty-two years earlier, by Lord Dufferin's Commission. It appears from their Report that "in consequence of a recommendation made by the Royal Commission of 1869," a Director General, with a staff of officers, had been appointed to supervise military education, but that the post had been abolished in 1899. The motive of abolishing it was understood to have been economy; and in fact the supervision exercised can hardly have been worth its cost; for the Report of 1902 hits very nearly the same blots and gaps in the system then existing, as were detected by the inquiry of 1869. At Sandhurst, according to the second Report, the cadets had absolutely no inducement to work, and the instructors had no inducement to teach; the plague of idleness still infected the college; the professors had been carelessly selected; while nothing had been done on the recommendation of Lord Dufferin's Commission in regard to the special qualifications that should govern the choice of the college governor. The lapse of a generation had made so little difference in the system at Sandhurst that the Committee were enabled to verify and corroborate in all important particulars the defects and shortcomings registered thirty-three years previously by their predecessors.

Another Report on military education was submitted by Lord Dufferin's Commission in 1870; and early in 1871 he was again appointed to preside over an Admir-

alty Committee to examine the designs upon which ships of war had been constructed. The institution of this inquiry was due to the loss of the *Captain*, a ship of war that had capsized on the first trial-voyage. In regard to the proceedings of this Commission, upon which Lord Dufferin was placed manifestly by reason of his well-known interest in nautical matters, it is only necessary to record that the problem set before them appears to have been "how to unite in one ship the power of sailing, steaming, and carrying both heavy guns and armour." The question of combining a very high degree of offensive and defensive power with real efficiency under sail, was pronounced by a large majority of the Commission to be insoluble; so that their proceedings may be said to have expedited, in naval architecture, the conclusion upon this point that is now understood to have been adopted.

Lord Dufferin had by this time secured a position of the kind that lays open fair prospects of future distinction to an Englishman of his rank and ability. In his early mission to Syria he had done the State good service abroad. At home he had steadily supported the Liberal party in Parliament, and upon Irish questions he had both written and spoken effectively. He had held three offices under the government, though not of the first class; and he had presided over two Royal Commissions. He had seen the outer world, and had written of his travels with gaiety and native humour. His reputation had that kind of attractive brilliancy which is obtained by the combination of solid political qualities with literary accomplishment and great social popularity. When, therefore, he submitted to Mr. Gladstone in 1871 his wish that his public services, particularly the share that he had taken in Irish affairs, might be considered as justifying a claim for the revival in his favour of an extinct Earldom, to which he could establish some title by descent, he found the Prime Minister well disposed to entertain it. The Earldom of Clanbrassil

had become extinct with the second Earl's death in 1675 ; but Sir John Blackwood, Lord Dufferin's great-grandfather, had married a niece of the first Earl, who had been created Baroness of Dufferin and Clandeboyne in her own right ; and Lord Dufferin was now heir-general of this branch of the Hamiltons of Clanbrassil and the possessor for the most part of their estates. If, he wrote in his letter to Mr. Gladstone, the relinquishment of the office which he then held under the existing government were likely to facilitate other administrative arrangements, he was quite ready to vacate it, and he added characteristically—

“ I am rather inclined to think that whatever ability I possess would be more usefully employed in literary than in political labours, and that five or six years spent in writing a really good, impartial history of Ireland would be as useful an employment as any other, and might help to soothe and compose the angry reminiscences which so embitter the relations of Catholics and Protestants, and of this country with England.”

That men for whom nature or circumstance has marked out one course of life, or some particular direction for their activity, are constantly feeling an attraction toward some other course for which they are much less fitted, has been a matter of common observation since the days of Horace. Men of action long for literary quiet ; literary men dream of bold adventures or the game of politics ; the ways that are clearly designed for them, whether stirring or sequestered, become monotonous. Lord Dufferin could write with vigour and skill upon subjects in which he was actively and immediately engaged ; he could turn his actual experiences to good account ; he had the gift of description that belongs to imaginative men. From boyhood his reading had been wide and various ; he had an excellent literary taste ; and though it is plain that he did not work hard at school or at Oxford, he was one of those for whom a good introduction to the classics had a solid value, because

they never drop the acquaintance, but on the contrary improve it diligently in later life, with all the advantages of men who have seen the world. When, in 1868, he was addressing the students at University College, London, he said—

“ In looking back on my own youth, the study of Latin grammar, Latin verses, and Latin composition, in none of which did I ever attain any great proficiency, now occurs to me as the sum total of the official instruction I received from the time I was six years old, to the time I was twenty ; yet making every allowance for the unpromising material with which my masters had to deal, I cannot but think that something more than this ought to have been the sum total of fourteen years of education ; at all events this is the reflection I remember making when I stood up to be examined for my degree at Oxford, and the examiner called on me to construe a passage in Cæsar, which I distinctly recollected had caused me considerable corporal and mental anguish as a child of eight at a preparatory school ; whereas, on the other hand, I must admit that I neither knew nor cared for Greek until I learnt it a few years ago as I would have learnt a modern language, during the odd moments of my spare time ; though now its study has become that portion of my day's recreation to which I look forward with the greatest pleasure.”

Practical politics, personal intercourse with statesmen, travel, and experience of government in different stages of society, are better than erudition for a real understanding of Greek and Roman civilization. But with a life thus filled up profound study is usually incompatible ; so that a complete and unbiassed history of Ireland was a work that most probably lay beyond the range of Lord Dufferin's capacities, while it would have certainly placed a perilous strain upon his impartiality, for he was too intimately connected with Irish controversies and interests. Unquestionably his distinctive vocation was for public office, for dealing with men and with important affairs of State, with the business of the world around him ; and in the pursuit of severe literature, in sedentary studies, he would have abandoned this

natural superiority. Mr. Gladstone, a statesman who more than once announced, in pauses between periods of energetic Parliamentary warfare, his determination to forsake politics for books, took Lord Dufferin's literary aspirations in sympathetic earnest, and replied—

September 23, 1871.—"I have considered further the question of the Earldom, and Granville has seen the papers.

"We shall be sorry to lose you as a colleague, but I can well understand that you may feel an office of the nature of that which you now hold to be a restraint upon your application of your time and powers in the manner to which you incline, and which I hope and anticipate will be beneficial to literature and to history.

"Your claim to the Earldom I think a very fair one, and I am quite prepared to submit it to the Queen. Indeed I shall do this with much satisfaction, not less on public than on private grounds, for your early advocacy of changes in the land laws of Ireland well deserves to be honourably commemorated. . . ."

On these very honourable considerations the promotion was readily granted. Yet one cannot feel sure that Lord Dufferin read with unqualified satisfaction a reply in which the Prime Minister takes serious note of what seems to have been merely a temporary inclination to exchange office for literature. What we know is that he did not forthwith resign the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and that, so far from retiring on his Earldom (it was granted in 1871) to his library, within five months from this date Lord Dufferin allowed himself to be put into nomination for the most arduous office under the British Crown, the Viceroyalty of India. At any rate we hear nothing more of the projected History of Ireland. The subjoined memorandum, dated February 1872, is taken from among his papers—

"On the afternoon of February 12th news of Lord Mayo's assassination reached the India Office, and on the following day Lord Dufferin received a note from the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, requesting him to call upon him.

"The Duke then said to Lord Dufferin that before he should see his colleagues the next day, he was anxious to know whether Lord Dufferin would like to go out to India as Lord Mayo's successor in the Viceroyalty—that he had seen Lord Lawrence that morning, and that Lord Lawrence had of his own accord suggested Lord Dufferin's name. That he [the Duke] cordially agreed in the suggestion, and thought that there were only three names which could be mentioned in connexion with the appointment—those of Lord Napier of Ettrick, Lord Kimberley, and his own. That Lord Kimberley could scarcely be spared from home, and that Lord Napier's mother, being a very aged person, desired his return. That he had written to Mr. Gladstone that morning reviewing the circumstances, but having added in that letter as possible candidates Lord Napier of Magdala and Lord Spencer.

"In reply Lord Dufferin told the Duke that he neither feared the climate nor the labour, but that of his fitness and ability for such a post he was not a good judge. That he had been walking with Lord Kimberley in the morning, that they had met Sir Erskine Perry returning from the India Office, who mentioned that their two names had been suggested for the Governor Generalship, and that Lord Kimberley had replied that the illness of his son put his acceptance of the office quite out of the question."

The Indian Viceroyalty, however, was given to Lord Northbrook; but a month later the Governor Generalship of Canada was offered to Lord Dufferin; and Lord Kimberley, in acknowledging from the Colonial Office his letter of acceptance, writes, in reference to the appointment—"It is not often that public interest and private friendship point so exactly to the same conclusion." Lord Carnarvon, who congratulated him "most seriously and heartily" on his appointment, added—"It is to my mind one of the greatest that the Crown can offer, and to no one on your side of the House could it be better entrusted than to you."

CHAPTER VI.

IRELAND.

IT will have been seen that up to the year 1872, when Lord Dufferin left England in June for Canada, his political occupations, except while he had been in Syria, had been at home. He had held office in two Liberal ministries, he had taken his share in the debates of the Upper House, and he had never relaxed his earnest and arduous efforts for the improvement of his estates, or his solicitude for the general condition of Ireland. But for the next four and twenty years he was within the United Kingdom only during very short intervals between successive appointments to embassies and Governor Generalships, so that for attention to matters of internal administration he had thenceforward little leisure or opportunity. At this point, therefore, in the narrative of his life it is thought that some review of his connexion with Irish politics may conveniently come in.

With the question of Irish land legislation Lord Dufferin, as a landlord, was intimately concerned; and from the time when he came of age he had given close attention, as has been seen, to projects for improving the relations between landlord and tenant. Although he naturally treated the subject from the standpoint of a landlord, his interest in the welfare of Ireland and the Irish people was deep and genuine; he had always striven to alleviate recognized grievances, and to strike at what he held to be the roots of agricultural mismanagement. But the futility of such superficial

measures as had been hitherto tried for the remedy of chronic evils, was being proved by the condition of the country, where political animosities, complicated by agrarian discontent, were now again bringing on a crisis of agitation that demanded the interposition of Parliament. Lord Dufferin threw himself into the discussion with persevering activity. In this chapter an endeavour will be made to give a connected account of his opinions and writings, and of his share in the legislative debates and proceedings up to the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Act in 1870.

In March 1865 a Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act of 1860, on the tenure and improvement of land in Ireland. Before this Committee Lord Dufferin underwent a long examination, when he explained in detail his views and conclusions regarding the operation of tenant-right in Ulster, and the method that he had consistently advocated for an equitable adjustment of compensation to outgoing tenants for their improvements. The object of the Act of 1860 was to simplify the tenures of agricultural land by placing the relations between owners and tenants entirely upon the basis of strict contract, both as to the duration of the leases, and as to the compensation claimable for improvements at the end of the tenure. The effect of this law, if it had come into use, would have been to defeat any subsequent claim by the tenant to be compensated for improvements, unless that claim could be proved by the evidence of a contract, express or implied; while as to the past it made no provision whatever. But up to 1865 the Act had remained so far a dead letter, that not a single application for compensation had been made under its procedure by the tenants; and it was into this state of things that the Committee were directed to inquire.

In his evidence before this Committee Lord Dufferin said—

“ Although all the lands I now possess formed part of

the original Clandeboyne grant (James the First's reign) ninety per cent. of my property was acquired by purchase ; the proportion I hold direct from the Crown is very small, and a similar process of disintegration and repurchase by the original grantees has taken place in respect to many of such grants.

" Small farms on my estate have not been much subdivided during the last thirty years : but I happen to have in my possession a survey of the estate made for the first Lord Clandeboyne in 1630. Each of the separate tenancies was very carefully laid down, and coloured on the map. I have not taken the trouble to count the aggregate number of those tenancies, but I imagine that where at that time was one tenancy there are now forty or fifty.

" The subdivisions were made invariably by the tenants. My impression is that formerly those tenancies were leasehold—long leases of three lives—and it was during that period, I think, that these subdivisions took place. I believe the subdivision was usually made by the tenant to give a part of the farm to a member of his family."

The evidence given by Lord Dufferin defines plainly his position in regard to the question of improvements. He was decidedly in favour of admitting the right of an industrious tenant to fair compensation in the case of eviction or the termination of his holdings ; and he would have laid down rules fixing the scale and the conditions upon which the amount should be calculated. So far as the Ulster tenant-right represented the custom whereby the incoming tenant was supposed to indemnify the outgoing tenant for his permanent improvements, Lord Dufferin held that the usage was excellent ; but he maintained, as he always had done, that the sum paid represented the difference between a fair rent and a rack rent, and was also given by the incomer as the price of quiet occupation. And since this payment was often excessive, the small farmers were frequently ruined by having to exhaust their capital and credit before they entered into possession of the holding ; the largest prices being given, as a general rule, for small farms that were utterly incapable of improvement. Lord Dufferin's remedy was to determine the just value of

improvements by the impartial arbitration of experts; though he would have maintained the landlord's right of veto on the claims for exhausted improvements, as he held that an amicable agreement on this point ought to be the preliminary to granting a long lease. He stated in the course of his evidence that he had expended large sums in buying up this tenant-right, disbursing to the outgoing tenant the money that he might expect to receive on the transfer of the farm, in order that the new tenant might enter upon it unencumbered by debt. On this account he spent £18,000 during a term of years, by payments to outgoing tenants of sums that he made no attempt to recover from the tenant who succeeded to the holding. He desired, however, that all his remarks and recommendations should be taken as applying only to that part of Ireland (Ulster) with which he was practically familiar, and where, he said, the good relations subsisting between landlord and tenant had been the cause, not the consequence, of this custom of tenant-right. In their final report the Committee recommended that the principle of the Act of 1860—securing compensation to the tenants only upon improvements made with the landlord's consent—should be maintained, though they suggested certain minor modifications.

The law which was enacted to ratify the substitution of contract for status in the matter of Irish land tenure was thus upheld; and the inevitable effect was to sharpen the real points at issue. Lord Dufferin's proposals, which were not accepted, had been made in the hope that a liberal treatment of compensation might satisfy the farmers; but a different opinion had been recorded by an advocate of tenant-right, who said that a mere Compensation Bill would be of no real use to the occupiers, unless the occupiers of land possessed security of tenure granted by Act of Parliament. So that the contest was being steadily pushed home to the fundamental issue, whether the absolute ownership of the landlords should be maintained, or whether the tenants' demand for some kind of co-proprietorship

could be admitted. And this question could no longer be determined by legal or economical argument ; it had become social and political. Ireland had relapsed into one of its recurrent phases of rebellious disaffection ; and this time the outward and visible sign of fermentation was Fenianism. It will be remembered that while during the preceding years there had been a great outflow of Irish emigrants to America, the ending, in 1865, of the civil war between the Northern and Southern States had thrown loose upon the country numbers of restless men habituated to fighting and to the ideas of armed revolt. In the beginning of 1866 Earl Grey moved for a Committee of the whole Upper House to consider the state of Ireland, where the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and Fenian conspiracies were rampant. In a speech against this motion, Lord Dufferin opposed it because he believed it to be " founded on the altogether erroneous assumption that the evils, the discontent, and the disaffection which exist to a certain extent in Ireland, are the result of legislation." In the course of his argument he declared that no exceptional legislation would remove these symptoms of a deep-rooted malady, which he affirmed to be entirely unconnected either with the Irish Church establishment or with questions between landlord and tenant. His view was that the country was just then traversing a period of painful yet necessary and beneficial transition, that emigration was the wholesome outlet for a congested population, too numerous for the soil ; and that with the steady influx of capital and a better economical distribution of the land into larger holdings upon which a farmer could subsist, the prosperity of the country was making a perceptible advance. All these tendencies to improvement, he argued, were arrested only by that insurrectionary spirit of disorder and of hostility to the English government which the Fenian leaders were propagating among an ignorant peasantry. A copy of this speech was acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone in the letter subjoined—

May 18, 1866.—"I thank you very much for your speech and appendix. I have been reading them with all the care I could, for I sincerely desire to know something of these Irish land questions, and I am aware that I can repair to no higher source.

"Our debate on the Landlord and Tenant Bill last night was an interesting but in some particulars really a painful one."

Lord Dufferin's views, in fact, represented that solution of the Irish enigma to which the conservative English mind, with its inbred traditions of masterful administration, and of society founded upon the just and reasonable execution of laws, is naturally predisposed. Let the government resolutely and impartially discharge its primary duty of preserving order, of upholding undeniable property rights, and of enforcing reasonable contracts; let the land laws be amended where they press too hardly on the cultivator; let small holdings, which cannot support him, be discouraged; consolidate the farms; let emigration drain off the stagnant population—and the chronic malady that has so long afflicted Ireland will disappear. It is not easy to deny that resolute perseverance in such a course of treatment might have eventually worked a cure, if the disease had not been too inveterate and too violent for slow restorative processes. The contest was now openly waged for possession of the soil. The landlords could not be expected to entertain any measure that struck at their legal right of property; they saw clearly that the admission in any shape of double ownership would operate like the thin edge of a wedge, it would gradually be driven deeper by persistent pressure, until it broke up the proprietary system and severed them from the land. On the other side was a vehemently determined resistance to any palliatives or reforms that would strengthen the landlords' position; for the tactics of this party were to discredit and demolish it. They were convinced that the land question was to be settled, in the words used by Lord Stanley in 1845, by rooting

the occupier not out of but into the soil ; and their avowed object was peasant proprietorship. Into the field of this controversy Lord Dufferin entered with a series of letters to the *Times*, which he afterwards republished, enlarged and revised in the form of a pamphlet, on " Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland." He pleaded with much force and with an effective array of facts against the indictment which charged the landlords with responsibility for the depopulation of Ireland by wholesale and hard-hearted evictions of their tenantry, and which imputed the miseries and exile of the people to the iniquity of the Irish land laws. His main argument, which need not here be followed out into details, was directed toward proving by the evidence of land registers, records, and statistics, and by comparison of the condition of the Irish peasantry with that of the same class in other neighbouring countries, that the true cause of the distress and widespread agrarian discontent in Ireland was traceable to over-population, that emigration was the inevitable and beneficial remedy, and that in any case to ascribe the exodus to harsh and unjust evictions was to propagate an unfounded calumny. That there had been bad landlords he did not deny ; but he observed that so far as the evils of the existing situation were attributable to historical causes and political oppression, the landlords as well as the tenants had been more or less victims of past errors ; they had become entangled in a vicious system, and had been left to deal as best they might with the consequences of overcrowding the land with an agricultural population that agriculture was quite unable to support.

Lord Dufferin's defence of the landlords might be unanswerable ; he might prove that they only claimed property rights that were universally recognized ; but he made no impression upon agitators who had resolved that the Irish landlord and his indefeasible rights must go, or upon economists and statesmen who were convinced that nothing less would pacify the country.

Mr. Isaac Butt published, in 1867, a pamphlet mainly devoted toward contesting Lord Dufferin's facts and disputing his conclusions. He admitted, however, that Lord Dufferin's views were only legitimate, indeed necessary, deductions from the theories of the absolute right of property in the landlord, and from the economic argument which is employed against any interference with contracts relating to land. But to these theories and arguments he demurred. The premises assumed by each of the two parties were thus radically different ; so that the issue still lay between the assertion of the landlord's property right as unquestionable, subject to reasonable use of it, and the contention that this right had become a wrong, that it constituted an oppressive monopoly, rendering fair and voluntary contracts between landlord and tenant impossible.

The remedy demanded by Mr. Butt was to create for the tenant some form of proprietary occupancy, some fixity of tenure. Mr. Bright had already devised his more thorough-going scheme for enabling the peasantry of Ireland to buy up the estates of British noblemen who might be owners of property in both countries ; three-fourths of the purchase money to be advanced by the government. And about this time Mr. Mill interposed with a " Plan for the Pacification of Ireland," framed upon his well-known principle that " because land is a thing which exists in limited quantity, the original inheritance of mankind, which whoever appropriates keeps others out of its possession," it is competent for Parliament, on proof of paramount and indisputable necessity, such as the danger of civil war, to deal with private estates in land in the manner most conducive to the well-being of the community. His proposal was to bring the landed estates of all proprietors in Ireland to a forced sale, their price being fixed by parliamentary commissioners, to transfer the property thus released to the tenants at the time in occupancy, and to collect the quit-rents for the State by official agency. Against this formidable champion Lord Dufferin entered the lists by

the publication of a pamphlet * in which he subjected Mill's principles and proposals to close and in many respects weighty criticism. By Mill's plan the landlord's indefeasible right of property was altogether broken up and set aside, and Lord Dufferin fought strenuously in defence of property, arguing that, if Mill's principle were admitted, it might and would be applied to many other kinds of limited raw material for labour beside land ; and objecting that his proposal would be seriously unjust to the landlord, amounting to a confiscation of immense sums invested in the purchase and improvement of their estates ; while the condition of the tenant and of his agriculture would not (he said) be bettered by it, but would in the end become much worse—

“ You would not have got rid of landlordism ; you would only have substituted a crowd of needy landlords for the present more affluent proprietors. Eviction for non-payment of rent would be rife as ever ; while dispossession from other causes, such as waste, extravagance, and bad management, would be multiplied far in excess of the small proportion that is now effected on such accounts. . . . Nevertheless, if it could be really brought home to my understanding and conscience that the welfare of my tenants is incompatible with my possession of an estate in Ireland, and that their condition would be improved if it were administered by a public officer, I should be loth to place my private interests in opposition to a great national good.

“ But neither in the past history of my estate nor in its present condition do I find anything to justify its being subjected to special and revolutionary legislation. When it came originally into my family some two hundred and fifty years ago, the principal portion of it was forest and morass. A tradition still exists that a squirrel could go from one end of it to another without once touching the ground. Under the auspices of my predecessors, it has been gradually brought into cultivation, and its resources developed. The relations between them and their tenantry, regulated and defined by written contracts from the original settlement, have been always friendly, and I trust as advan-

tageous to the one as to the other. When I came of age, almost the whole of the estate was under lease. At this moment upwards of 5000 acres are occupied by tenants whose leases date from the end of the last century or from the commencement of this: some of these outstanding leases have been eighty and ninety years in existence."

At any rate one great advantage, according to Mr. Mill, was to be anticipated from this sweeping reform—the reconciliation of Ireland to English rule.

"I confess" (Lord Dufferin observes) "I do not see that this is a necessary consequence. Indeed, if the English government insists with rigour on its rights as a landlord, it is more likely to incur the hatred, than to win the love, of its new dependents. If Irish landlords are really as obnoxious as is asserted, the change will only have realized, on behalf of the Irish nation, the aspiration of the ancient tyrant, that all his enemies might have but one neck. Of course it cannot be denied that if the British nation chooses to make a present of the land to the present 400,000 Irish tenants who now occupy it,—for nothing, or next to nothing, or even at a moderate rent,—those 400,000 individuals will be highly pleased, for the simple reason, that any distribution of wealth or property to the indigent is sure to be welcome; but even after England shall have bribed them with so coveted a boon, it is doubtful whether her new mercenaries would eventually separate themselves from whatever anti-English sentiment may be developed in the rest of the community. For it must be remembered that though the population of Ireland is mainly agricultural, the tenant-farmers form only half, and that the smallest half, of the agricultural class. The position of the agricultural labourer will not have been affected by such generosity. Nay, his prospects will have been somewhat deteriorated, as a peasant proprietary, though they cannot do without the labourer at particular seasons of the year, are not likely to prove very liberal employers. The farm-servant therefore would remain in pretty much the same frame of mind as at present. The population of the towns and villages, the small shopkeeping class, nay, even the sons of the farmers themselves, would have no stronger motives than they have at present to regard Great Britain with affection. Nay, after our country gentlemen,

and the numerous classes now in one way or another associated with them, shall have been extirpated, and Ireland has been reduced to a nation of priests and peasants, is it likely that the Imperial policy and the Imperial prestige will become more popular than at present ? ”

From the subjoined letter it appears that the writer (Lord Arthur Russell) had brought Mr. Mill face to face with Lord Dufferin at breakfast, for a discussion of the Irish question ; and that Lord Dufferin at least held his own against a mighty logician.

(To Lord Dufferin). *March* 10, 1868.—“ You have fulfilled the wishes I expressed at breakfast on Saturday. You have given the great philosopher a lesson in the art of controversial writing. You have discussed like a gentleman and Mill has not argued like a philosopher. The *Times* says you regard him with ‘ superstitious reverence ’—it was exceedingly wise to do so, when you were preparing to roll him over and over so neatly. I am delighted with your polemical tone, you have not even called the writer in the *Spectator* uncivil names. The *Times* is quite wrong in saying that you have given yourself unnecessary trouble—there are millions to whom these things must be said over and over again.”

Mr. Bright wrote—

March 17, 1868.—“ I must write to tell you how much I feel obliged to you for your most kind note, and how glad I am that you can express your belief that my speech will do some good in Ireland. It is out of the fullness of the heart that the mouth speaketh—and since my journeys in Ireland in the years 1849 and 1852 the Irish question has often pressed upon me with great weight.

“ I thank you also for your pamphlet, which I have read with great interest. I need not tell you here that I do not agree with Mr. Mill.

“ I suppose now we begin a real contest on the Irish Church Question. This debate is but a preliminary skirmish—and ministries may fall and parliaments be dissolved before the main contest is decided. The tone taken last night by Mr. Gladstone will stimulate opinion and action in every part of the kingdom.”

It would, however, be superfluous to follow this controversy further than is necessary for the impartial explanation of Lord Dufferin's personal views and writings on the Irish land question, which was the main interest of his life. His arguments, whether from right or from expediency, were overruled; and the main issue has very recently been decided against him by the passing of an Act that resembles Mr. Bright's plan in some of its essential provisions. The grand experiment is now on its trial; though it is probably reserved for a new generation to see whether Lord Dufferin's predictions of the political consequences of establishing a peasant proprietary in Ireland will or will not be fulfilled.

In 1867 the Conservative government introduced a Bill which to some extent adopted one of Lord Dufferin's suggestions, by providing that a tenant, before making improvements, should obtain the consent, not of the landlord, but of a commissioner for improvements. But the landlords opposed any provision entitling a tenant to claim compensation on improvements made without their consent; and Lord Cairns, writing to Lord Dufferin, laid down as indispensable the principle that the compensation should be the unexhausted or unrepaid value of the improvements, and *not* the increased letting value of the land. The tenant-right party naturally objected to any such limitations, so the Bill was dropped; and nothing more was attempted until the Liberal party again returned to office.

About this time Lord Dufferin appears to have pressed upon Mr. Gladstone some public invitation to Ireland. The visit was not made, but Mr. Gladstone replied—

July 28, 1867.—"I am much flattered by the invitation you have transmitted to me in terms of so much kindness, but I do not find that word warm enough for the occasion, and remembering the position into which circumstances have often thrown me towards Ireland, I must venture to add I am greatly touched by the feeling which has dictated the conduct of those whom you represent."

On his accession, as Prime Minister, to office in December 1868, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Dufferin the letter subjoined—

December 9, 1868.—"I earnestly hope you will join the administration which I have undertaken to form. The Cabinet is now, I may say, full: but I am able to offer you the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. In this office I do not doubt you will find very considerable opportunities of seeing Her Majesty, who is anxious for an investigation of its affairs, and thinks the management might be placed on a better footing. But we should also I hope be able to derive great advantage from your knowledge and experience in all those questions which relate to Ireland, and which form so large a part of the design of the administration."

The offer was accepted, and very soon after Lord Dufferin had joined the ministry, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was sent up to the Lords in June 1869. It appears probable that the increase of turbulence in Ireland at this time, and during the years immediately preceding, had gradually convinced Lord Dufferin that this measure had become a political necessity. In his speech on Lord Grey's motion in 1866, he had declared that—

"the presence of the Established Church in Ireland has not anything to do with the present disaffection. If the revenues of that Establishment were transferred by a prospective measure to take effect on the death of the present incumbents, I do not believe that would keep a single man from crossing the Atlantic, or prevent the casting of a single Fenian bullet."

When, however, Mr. Gladstone's Bill came before the Upper House in 1869, Lord Dufferin gave it his unqualified support. He repeated, indeed, that "with Fenianism he had never thought the existence of the Protestant Church had any immediate connexion." But he went on to say—

"Looking at the case from the calmest point of view, I think it must be admitted that the Established Church can only be regarded by every educated Irishman as a relic of a hateful history, and as a symbol of an unjust domination; while by the less educated the undue pretensions and prerogatives of that Church must be taken as a reflection on their own faith and their own clergy"—

And he affirmed in very forcible language that the Establishment, with the taxation levied to support it, was in the highest degree obnoxious to the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, dangerous to the State, and discreditable to Parliament. In his address to the Social Science Congress at Belfast in 1867, Lord Dufferin had already pronounced a distinct opinion that disendowment in some form, partial or complete, must be expected. Nevertheless the vehemence with which in 1869 he expounded the pernicious iniquity of the existing system, surprised and disappointed, not altogether unreasonably, those who had hitherto counted him among the defenders of the Irish Church. Meanwhile the agitation in Ireland was increasing. Some letters that he wrote to the Duke of Argyll in 1869 are here inserted regarding the state of the country, with Lord Dufferin's views and forebodings thereupon.

January 11, 1869.—"Do any of you fifteen Deities, sitting in your ministerial Olympus, cast an eye towards these forlorn regions? If you do you may perhaps have learned that a good many people have been shot lately, and it may occur to you, in a languid sort of manner, that not an unimportant function of government is the preservation of life and property. Joking apart, however, matters are looking very ugly in this part of the world. That people should be destroyed like vermin has not surprised me; indeed, more than eighteen months ago I predicted to a friend that the natural consequence of all that was being said about the inherent rights of the Celtic race to the soil of Ireland would lead to the revival of agrarian outrages; and within a year three landlords have been murdered and two shot at.

"People may talk as they choose, but these crimes are

but the simple translation into fact of the benevolent theories which have been so complacently propounded of late by our transcendental moralists and philosophers.

"I have seen the new dogma nowhere more explicitly stated than in the leading article of a paper inspired by our Catholic Bishop in Belfast. 'The History of Landlordism in Ireland may be truly said to be written in blood. In the South, where the *alien possessor* is brought face to face with *the men who ought to be the owners* of the soil, etc.'

"Here you have the whole theory. A man may come of a stock rooted for six hundred years in the soil of Ireland : unless he be a Catholic and his name begin with an O', he is to be denounced as an alien, declared incapable of holding landed property, his title, as derived by purchase in the Encumbered Estates Court, to be considered as an usurpation ; and the fee simple of the soil is to be adjudged to a set of thriftless squatters who intruded themselves, as in most instances has been the case, upon the land within the last fifty years, in the teeth of covenants in the lease against subdivision and sub-letting.

"The policy of the popular leaders is now apparent. All the Southern papers have been given the '*mot d'ordre*' to ridicule the notion of a compensation bill, land improvement bill, or similar puerile expedients. Fixity of tenure—in other words, the conversion of the tenant into the proprietor, and of the landlord into an unsecured mortgagee—is to be the order of the day, and the process is to be introduced under the euphonious guise of a proposal to deprive landlords of their right of capricious eviction.

"This is a pleasant prospect for those who have spent their lives and their fortunes in improving their estates, and converting the struggling peasants of thirty years ago into a body of prosperous and well-to-do yeomen. And the worst of it is, that many of those who are advocates of the extremest measures, are so simple-minded and ignorant of rural affairs, that they cannot be made to understand that there is any difference between a terminable lease of twenty-one years and a perpetuity, or that the settlement of the rent of land by a government clerk is an arrangement that landed proprietors need have any misgivings in accepting.

"But I have already written you too long a letter."

January 14, 1869.—"My letter to you about the Irish

agrarian outrages was written very hurriedly, and intended for your private delectation and instruction.

"I am afraid Mr. Gladstone will have thought it rather flippant. You must explain this to him.

"If they would trust me to make it I know the kind of speech that would do good at the present moment, and coming from me, out of the Cabinet, and professing to speak on my own hook, it would not commit any of you. It should be quite Liberal enough about the land to please our most fervent friends, such of them at least as still remain in their senses on the subject.

"I have just concluded a settlement on my own estate which has entirely satisfied my tenants. I am beginning to think that another Devon Commission would be useful. A new world has come into being since 1846, and it would serve many purposes to note the change. There should be a special instruction to examine and report on the 'Customs of the country.' The Commission itself should contain a radical and a legal element in addition to the representatives of landed interests, but I am going to write to Fortescue at length upon the point."

January 21, 1869.—"I have not heard of the evictions to which you allude, but I should not be surprised if they took place. Many a man's whole future will depend on his retaining possession of his property. If he sees a tendency on the part of our public men to tamper with his rights, he will naturally do what he can for himself, and I dare say that some few, a little more timid, and consequently more inconsiderate than the rest, may have resorted to such an extreme precaution. I know in my own case I have done something of the kind. Three farms, of about twenty-five acres each, adjoining my park, fell vacant a short time ago, one tenant having died without leaving a representative, another being hopelessly in arrear; and the third a poor old fellow, past his work, to whom I have given a pension. These three holdings I then proceeded to knock into one, to drain, etc., with the intention of building a good farm steading, and letting it on a twenty-one years' lease. When, however, this agitation commenced, as the land lay close into my park, I stopped all my improvements, left off building the house, and let the fields to graziers, who pay me in the mean time as high a rent as any agricultural tenant would do. I hesitated to enter into a

contract until I could see whether Parliament showed any inclination to interfere with contracts.

"Of course the peculiar situation of this particular farm made it an exceptional case, but you can well understand that a person with a small estate—occupied we will say in some profession—but who hopes after he has made a little money, to retire to his property and cultivate it himself—will be apt to be equally cautious, if he thinks there is any chance that the man to whom he has let it in the meanwhile, should be enabled by Parliament to hold adverse possession of it in perpetuity against himself; more especially if his own interest in it is to be reduced to the proportion of a quit rent determined by some clerks from the Board of Works.

"You will say that such anticipations are absurd. So I consider them, but I have been quite startled by the sudden unanimity of opinion with which these extreme opinions are being broached by every person belonging to the Liberal party in Ireland who is not himself connected with landed property; and the practical effects of the insecurity thus engendered are beginning to be very disastrous. A relative of my own has just sold one of the nicest estates in the north of Ireland in the Landed Estates Court. Hitherto land in Ulster has generally fetched from twenty-five to twenty-seven years' purchase at the least. This property, which is low let, went for twenty-one years' purchase,—that is to say, for £15,000 less than another friend of mine offered the owner of it three years ago. Such is the depreciation going on,—even in Ulster. In Tipperary an estate was put up and no bidder at all came forward, which does not surprise me. I see, by the way, that they have shot another man in Cork since I last wrote to you—this time a farmer who was a competitor for a vacant holding. This very evening I have received a letter from my solicitor advising me not to sell a townland I was anxious to get rid of, 'as people's confidence is so much shaken; unless you think legislation is likely to make the owner's position worse off than it is at present.'

"What are you people saying to all this? Have you any notion of the tendency of the local sentiment which is being developed, and with which it will be very difficult to deal, when once it has acquired certain proportions? Remember the holders of property in Ireland are a small minority, and that the only real protection to property

in these days, when wealth unfortunately is so unequally distributed, is a sense of moral obligation in the minds and conscience of the people. Above all things do not imagine that I am exaggerating the present aspect of the situation. It is to these ends that the opinions of some of our cleverest members of Parliament are shaping themselves unless checked by some superior authority. Only the other day perhaps the ablest of them, a lawyer, said to a friend of mine, 'One would not like to say so in the House of Commons, but we must have a *revolutionary* land bill.' "

In March 1870 Lord Dufferin, who was now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Gladstone's ministry, moved in the House of Lords the second reading of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill. He did so, as he said, with feelings of repugnance, mortification, and disappointment, but with the firm conviction that the state of Ireland rendered coercive measures inevitable; and he produced evidence showing the prevalence in the country of a "semi-organized system of assassination and a widespread network of intimidation," kindled and inflamed by secret agencies and by the press in Ireland and in America. Mr. Gladstone had just passed through the Commons his Bill to confer upon Irish tenants a legal claim to compensation for agricultural improvements and for disturbance, and to make void any contract (in the case of small tenants) adverse to such claim. Two months later, when the Bill came before the Upper House, Lord Dufferin rose to support it.

"Your Lordships will remember" (he said) "that it is not merely a government official who is addressing you, but a large Irish proprietor, who is nothing else than an Irish proprietor, who does not own an acre of land elsewhere, the whole of whose material interests, as well as those of his children, depend upon a proper solution of this question, and who falls behind no one in this House in his zealous appreciation of the rights of property and in his determination to maintain them. With these considerations and predilections. . . . I entreat your Lordships, in the most earnest and anxious language I can command,

not only to give a second reading to this Bill, but to pass it without material alteration."

In regard to the clauses giving compensation for improvements, he reminded the House that—

"Seventeen years ago, when such views were not so fashionable as they are now, I laid upon the table of this House a Bill by which the Irish tenant would have been invested with a retrospective right to his improvements under conditions and within limits almost identical with those adopted in this Bill."

And on the point of compensation for disturbance, he quoted from his pamphlet of 1866 a passage where he had advocated, in the very words adopted in the Bill under discussion, the equitable claim of a tenant to be compensated, in the case of a sudden eviction, for the loss that he would thereby suffer from the interruption of his enterprise, and for his disappointment in the expectation of profit. He went on to say—

"What is the spectacle presented to us by Ireland? It is that of millions of persons, whose only dependence and whose chief occupation is agriculture, for the most part cultivating their lands—that is sinking their past, their present, and their future—upon yearly tenancies! But what is a yearly tenancy? Why, it is an impossible tenure—a tenure which, if its terms were to be literally interpreted, no Christian man would offer, and none but a madman would accept. In fact, my Lords, it is not a tenure which practically can be said to exist. No human being, whether landlord or tenant, on entering into such a bargain in respect of an agricultural holding—I except of course special and specific cases—ever dreams that the term of occupation is to terminate within the year specified. In the apprehension of both parties a reasonable period is intended. . . . Many years ago I argued in your Lordships' House that the Irish tenant, being in too dependent a position to make a bargain for himself, was entitled to have his concerns regulated by the interposition of Parliament. To that opinion I still adhere. . . . And I would ask your Lordships to remember that although this Bill, by a re-

markable ingenuity of conception, does do the most ample and consummate justice to the tenant, it avoids every one of those abuses and violent restrictions upon the freedom of the landlord which have characterized almost every other proposal of the same sort. . . . It leaves him in complete possession of his property."

Lord Dufferin's speech was received, as he noted afterwards, "with a considerable amount of cheering by the Opposition," and in dead silence by his own side. He had laid stress on the many mischiefs and abuses that had arisen from the extravagant development of tenant-right; but he had nevertheless advocated its legal recognition "for the same reason that I would sentence the murderer of an illegitimate infant to be hanged. I do not approve of adultery, but the creature being there has a right to the protection of the law." Ministerial silence indicated disapproval of these sentiments; so Lord Dufferin explained his position in the following letter to Lord Granville:—

June 15, 1870.—"Although such was very far from my desire or intention, I am afraid that my speech last night may not have been considered as thoroughly in support of the Bill as it ought to have been, but to tell you the truth I had never understood that approval of Tenant Right as an abstract principle was a part of the programme of the government. Certainly Mr. Gladstone expressly stated that the only grounds on which we founded our proposal to recognize it, was its existence without reference to its merits, and I therefore concluded that if I adopted the same argument I was at liberty to deal with its abstract qualities according to my own convictions and previously expressed opinions.

"Unfortunately, moreover, finding the House so excessively bored with the historical retrospect into which I so imprudently plunged, I tried to hasten what I had left to say to a conclusion, and getting nervous and confused, became less hearty in my vindication of the clauses than I had intended. But I am sure you will believe me when I say that I desire to act in the most perfect good faith, and I am quite ready, if what I have said is thought

at all embarrassing to the government, to take up a place behind them on the back benches."

Lord Granville replied—

"If you deserve punishment, it has been given by the cheers of the Opposition. Your position was difficult, and I well know the difficulty of re-forming one's line in front of the enemy."

And again, later on the same day—

"The fact was that I thought it possible, although most improbable, that Gladstone might be a little annoyed. I have seen him this evening, and find that there is in his opinion not the slightest necessity for any explanation on the subject of your speech; but he appreciates the feeling of delicacy which induced you to make an unacceptable suggestion."

The support given by Lord Dufferin to Mr. Gladstone's Bill was quite consistent with the line of policy and action that he had previously advocated. He had always held the tenant entitled to compensation for disturbance, and, in all cases where the lease was for less than thirty-one years, this was awarded by the Bill. But it did not infringe the landlord's essential right of property; it left him free to make his terms with the tenant; he could raise the rent, he could still eject a tenant under the terms of his lease, though eviction was made difficult and expensive. The Act, therefore, only slightly touched upon the true underlying issues between the two parties in Ireland—whether the full ownership of land should remain with the landlord, or whether it should be divided upon some system of co-proprietorship, or whether it should be altogether transferred to the occupying tenants. The least that the tenant party demanded was fixity of rent. Nor is it probable that a statesman of Lord Dufferin's long experience and perspicacity could have looked upon the Act of 1870 as representing more than a provisional adjustment of the

question, an instalment given to stave off larger and more importunate demands. As has been seen from his answer to Mr. Mill, he opposed the destruction of landlords' property rights, on the ground that such a measure would be not remedial but ruinous to agriculture; yet in the speech on the Bill of 1870 he referred to his pamphlet of 1867, where he said, in alluding to Mr. Bright's proposals, that he heartily sympathized with Mr. Bright in his desire to see a yeoman class established in Ireland, and that though he had misgivings as to the result of the experiment on so large a scale, nevertheless, if Mr. Bright could persuade the British taxpayer to agree, he for one would offer no objections.

Among Lord Dufferin's papers is a long confidential memorandum, evidently prepared for the Cabinet, upon which the leading provisions of the Act of 1870 in regard to compensation appear to have been settled, though some reservations that he desired to make in the landlords' favour seem to have been overruled. Some correspondence relating to this memorandum is here inserted.

(To Mr. Gladstone.) *October 29, 1869.*—"I now forward to you the memorandum you gave me permission to draw up. I only wish I could have made it shorter, but in so complicated a subject it is difficult to be both concise and perspicuous.

"I am sure you will see by what I have written that my only thought has been to assist you to the utmost of my ability in the settlement of this question. Even though the Bill should eventually assume a shape of which I could not altogether approve, I am so convinced of the danger of delay, or of any other set of men than the members of the present government having an opportunity of meddling with it, that I should still support it, though perhaps not as your Chancellor of the Duchy.

"As you will see, the one principle which I deprecate is the measurement of the tenants' interest by competition, and the fixing of rent by a government valuator. Against a settlement on this basis I have always protested, both publicly and in private, and I could not with honour agree to it.

"I see that my name has been sometimes quoted in the newspapers, and in reference to this point there is one thing more I have to say. I have felt it my duty from time to time to try and stem the tide of adverse feeling which has lately set in against the Irish landlords. In doing so I have endeavoured to draw a correct picture of their situation, and, considering the different points of view from which the subject is regarded, the statements I have made have fairly stood the test of investigation.

"At the same time, although I have never uttered a sentence at all inconsistent with the scheme suggested in the accompanying memorandum, the tendency of whatever pamphlets I have published has undoubtedly been apologetic. Their tone consequently may cause you embarrassment as proceeding from a member of your government, especially when isolated passages are quoted, as possibly may be the case. I can only say, should this happen, I should infinitely prefer supporting you from a back bench as an independent member than in my present situation, and I can assure you that my support will not be a whit less earnest and loyal on that account. On the other hand, I feel that in the interests of the country and almost as a matter of justice, some one intimately connected with the agricultural interests of Ireland should be permitted to watch the elaboration of this important measure. It is only in the strength of this conviction that I have presumed to intrude upon you with the enclosed."

(From Mr. Gladstone.) , *November 3, 1869.*—"I have read your papers on Irish Land tenures, and I am very glad to find a great community of view between you and most of those with whom I have exchanged ideas on that most difficult subject; though the apparent differences, and the real differences of form, may be considerable.

"You have not quite drawn your plan in such a way as to enable me to judge to what extent you would seek to alter a memorandum which Fortescue has drawn. He from his side is an enthusiast of Tenant Right (though fully admitting of accompanying arrangements for its extinction), but the main aim is to give effect to principles which seem to me to correspond with yours.

"Men who walk as far in company as you and Fortescue are not, I think, likely to part for the rest of the road."

(From Mr. Gladstone.) *November 13, 1869.*—"So far

from complaining of your second memorandum am I, that I hope you will go farther. It is really not possible to compare your suggestion with Fortescue's until you have reduced it to a state of equal definiteness. I was in hopes you might be able to do this by taking his paper as a basis and making corrections upon it. But your blank maximum and the rules by which the court is to range between it and a minimum, are points so essential that I do not see how you can be put into the scales against the other jockey till you have supplied them. If you could do it in an independent paper containing simply (like his) the essential propositions, it could not but be very useful.

"Your presentation of alternatives affecting you personally is as handsome and disinterested as, from you, all would expect, but I am sure we need not entertain them as practical questions.

"On one point of political economy, no part of a land creed, I am unable to follow you. I cannot admit there has been any serious or appreciable diminution of the value of gold."

In December 1869 Lord Dufferin sent a copy of his own draft Tenant Right Bill to Mr. Gladstone, who was discussing with him orally and by letter the details of the measure that the Cabinet were preparing; and who wrote to him (February 1870)—

"Your letter appropriately crowns the gratification which I have derived from your kind and handsome conduct throughout the anxious period of the preparation of the Irish Land Bill. •

"If the reception of the Bill has been, as it seems to have been, highly favourable, and if adverse prepossessions have been in a great degree removed, it has been owing to the incomparably assiduous and patient labours of the Cabinet, and to the valuable aid derived from friendly critics outside its door: most of all, naturally, from two with whom we had the most constant and confidential communication, I mean Bessborough and yourself.

"If the Bill succeeds in Ireland, what a blessing! A blessing for the remaining years of life and for the hours of death to us all."

Some of Lord Dufferin's observations, in a memorandum

written at that time, may be still worth quoting, as being possibly not inapplicable to the present state and probable operation of the law passed in 1903 to place the occupiers in permanent possession of their farms. In all his writings on the subject, Lord Dufferin had consistently pointed to the competition for land and the subdivision of farms as the radical causes of the poverty and discontent of the Irish cultivator ; and he now argued that these evils would be rather enhanced than diminished by investing the tenant with some form of proprietary right—

“ Changes of tenancy are continually taking place, not only by the surrender of farms, but on the death of every occupant. His sons succeed, they all consider they have an equal claim to the holding : if permitted they subdivide it ; if not, the eldest son has to pay the others their share of the beneficial interest, and the competition price is their standard of valuation. Consequently the permanent tenant finds himself in the same position as if he had bought the land from a stranger—that is to say, destitute of capital and probably in debt. . . .

“ The rents of Ireland are comparatively low : to transfer, therefore, the power of exaction created by competition from the landlord, against whose interest it is to enforce it, and to hand it over to the tenant, who will never fail to do so, would hardly be a change for the better. Yet you will hear the same person who would vehemently denounce a landlord for insisting on a rack rent, detail with complacency the enormous sums of money which some one has obtained for his tenant right from a successor to his farm, whom he has skinned by the process and left stranded for life on the barren acres. From the foregoing considerations it is apparent that competition is an irrepressible force ; if stifled in one direction it will burst out in another. . . . After all the proposed remedies shall have been applied, the economic conditions of many parts of Ireland will be as hopeless as at present. It is impossible that agriculture can thrive, no matter what is done for the tenant, in those districts where the land is so miserably subdivided, as it is in Munster and Connaught.”

Towards the end of his memorandum he writes—

"If it were not thought presumptuous, I would wish to conclude this hasty expression of opinion with an earnest entreaty to those who will read it to remember how great is the responsibility of the task in which they are engaged. On their present decisions may depend, not only the material happiness of a nation, but the permanence, on an unshaken basis, of our whole social system. The landlords of Ireland are few in number; they are naturally both feared and hated by the priest, whose influence, in their several neighbourhoods, they rival or diminish. They are universally unpopular in the towns, with whose inhabitants they are not united by the connecting link of a wealthy middle class. They are severed from the labouring population by differences of race and religion. It is with their tenants alone that they have much opportunity of cultivating kindly relations. Yet for twenty years they have been held up to execration by almost every journal in Ireland, and by many of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Every kind of falsehood has been industriously propagated concerning them, all the more fatal to their reputation, because occasionally, certain of their class have been convicted of those crimes in which it is alleged they all habitually indulge. What body of men, subject to such attacks, from such an organization, would fail to become in the end 'Anathema'? If that is not yet their fate, the fact is more to their credit than if, under other circumstances, their praises were in all men's mouths. Yet probably nowhere has so much been done, or are such exertions being made for the improvement of their country, as by a large number of the Irish landlords. . . . Yet it is probable that the great mass of the English people would sacrifice the Irish landlords to-morrow, if they thought that by so doing they could tempt the Irish populace into acquiescence in their rule."

And he ends with the following reference to his own position as a landlord:—

"Finally, the writer of this memorandum wishes to observe that, individually, his personal interests are not engaged in the present controversy. Leases have been the ancient rule on his property, and at this moment there is not a tenant-at-will upon his estate. From an analysis of expenditure furnished him by a professional accountant, it appears that, during the last eighteen years he has ex-

pended £78,000 for the sole benefit of his tenantry, without adding one sixpence to his rental, or having the prospect of doing so during his own lifetime. To those in his position (and it is a mistake to suppose that there are not many such), the idea must frequently occur of disembarassing themselves of the ungrateful responsibilities connected with the management of an Irish estate, unless both life and property are rendered inviolate in that country. Such a step, even in the present depreciated state of the market, would probably be an economical proceeding, and in the future interest of others it might even become a duty."

These concluding sentences foreshadow apprehensions, already growing in Lord Dufferin's mind, that although the Act of 1870 preserved the landlord's proprietary rights, the unceasing attacks upon his position would render it before long untenable, or not worth defending.

What he apprehended, moreover, may be inferred from what he actually did; for within the next five years he sold two-thirds of his Irish estate, reserving land valued rateably at £8,000 annually, in a ring fence principally round Clandeboy. He had virtually concluded the sale of two more farms, when in 1880 the purchasers, anticipating further changes in the land laws, asked to be released from their agreements; and Lord Dufferin immediately cancelled them.

On May 7, 1874 he wrote to the Duke of Argyll—

"As for myself I have pretty nearly made up my mind to sell my Irish property. The sense of bitter injustice involved in these transactions is so painful as to render one's position intolerable, nor am I required by any conceivable call of duty to undergo this species of annoyance. God knows I have done my duty by my tenantry only too liberally for my own advantage, and now that they are well protected against any possible exaction at the hands of strangers, I shall make my escape. I shall have to leave something like £150,000 * behind me in the shape of improvements, from which I have had time to reap no other advantage than the ameliorated condition of the farmers

* This amount included a large outlay on the demesne and the mansion.

themselves ; but an Irish estate is like a sponge, and an Irish landlord is never so sick as when he is sick of his property. Clandeboye itself and 5000 or 6000 adjoining acres I shall keep for the present, probably until my term of office over here is concluded, but in the end I dare say it will go to. If I got any advantageous offer in the mean time I might be tempted to sell at once.

"In many ways it will be a great pain to part with a possession that has been for nearly three hundred years in my family, and which I have done so much to embellish, but there are many countervailing considerations, and in the interest of those who come after me, I am inclined to think that Great Britain will afford a firmer foothold than poor dear old Ireland."

In the last sentences of this letter, one may trace an allusion to family encumbrances, which necessarily added some weight on the side of his inclination to sell the property.

Fenianism, however, had failed ; and Lord Dufferin, when in March 1871 he defended the orders of the government for the release of the Fenian prisoners, had declared that Ireland was in a condition of peace and political tranquillity from one end of the country to the other. He found it advisable, however, to explain that he drew a distinction between political and administrative questions ; nor did he deny that the latter class still required serious attention. He had been closely observing, in fact, the working in Ulster of the Act of 1870 ; and the result was not reassuring. The indefinite elastic custom of Ulster tenancy had been hardened by the law into a legal right of compensation, to be appraised upon each change of occupancy by the local courts. Lord Dufferin had been one of many landlords who endeavoured to free their land from the incidence of this custom by paying to the outgoing tenant the sum that he was entitled to demand from the incomer, and by introducing the new tenant upon a long lease at a low rent, with nothing charged on account of tenant-right. He supposed that by these means it would be finally extinguished. But as on these terms the holding became

much more valuable, and since the local courts in their rulings leant heavily in favour of tenant-right, the practical consequence was that the right was not extirpated. On the contrary, it continued to grow, and on any termination of the holding its occupier or his heir often claimed and recovered from the landlord a much larger compensation for this right, the amount being determined by the price obtainable from the highest bidder in the open market. Until he had paid this sum the landlord could not recover his farm.

The movement toward conversion of tenant-right into co-proprietorship was not arrested, therefore, by the Act of 1870; it continued to increase, and it derived encouragement from high quarters. In November 1877 Mr. Gladstone visited Dublin, where he made a great speech, on the presentation to him of the freedom of the city, and received an address from the farmers of County Down. In the course of his speech he said, with reference to the operation in Ulster of the Act of 187c

“ If there is any part of the country in which an apparent soreness (among the landlords) prevails, it is Ulster. There the tenant had before the Land Act a very considerable protection in the shape of the Ulster tenant right, a tenant right which, I must say, I do not believe to have grown out of the simple indulgence of the owners of the land, but which I do believe to have been founded on the original grants to the settlers in the seventeenth century. Therefore I shall concede that it represents rights which are in the nature of proprietary rights, as much and as truly, though in a different shape, as the title deeds of the landlord.”

When Lord Dufferin, who was at that time in Canada, read this speech, he immediately wrote (but did not eventually send) to Mr. Gladstone a letter, in which he proved that, so far as County Down was concerned, there was no foundation for the belief that the tenant-right has any kind of original connection with the grants of land made in the seventeenth century.

"These grants" (he said) "are still in existence, having been executed in 1605 and in 1630, and from one end to the other of them there is not a single sentence which either directly or by implication imposes upon the grantee any conditions or stipulations whatever in respect either of the actual or future tenants or occupiers of the soil."

He supported this statement by historical facts, which need not be given here; and he protested against the encouragement given by Mr. Gladstone's speech to fictitious claims. On reflection he preferred the course of addressing the Duke of Argyll instead of Mr. Gladstone on the subject; and the incident is now only worth mention in illustration of the growing pressure of demands against which Lord Dufferin was making a prolonged but hopeless resistance. For by this time it was clear that the Act of 1870 would not serve the landlords as a barrier.

Mr. Disraeli had pointed out, when the Act was under debate, that under the name of compensation a proprietary interest would be vested in the tenant, and that since he was still liable to forfeit that interest by non-payment of rent, he would not long submit to the raising of his rent at the landlord's pleasure. Within ten years from that time a recurrence of agrarian agitation, stimulated by the bad harvest of 1878-79, produced the Land League and the demand for the "Three F's;" and Lord Dufferin foresaw that the landlords must go down under the storm. From St. Petersburg he wrote to a friend in regard to the terms which he had been endeavouring to make for their expropriation—

"Of course your criticisms on the plans I have sketched for buying out the landlords are full of force, and your predictions would most probably come true; but we are between the devil and the deep sea. It is quite evident that no government—I don't care whether Conservative or Liberal—will risk losing the entire Irish vote, and making enemies of the whole Irish nation, merely for the purpose of saving the property of the Irish landlords. In our present position, or in the attenuated form of rent charges,

our doom is sealed. Look at the way in which the Conservative members of the north are throwing up the sponge, sacrificing the property of the country merely to save their seats. Any so-called safeguards or qualification by which the application of the infamous 'Three F's' may be limited would of course be swept away during the course of ten years. Every candidate for Parliament would pledge himself up to the eyes to do away with them; but if the English tax-payers' pockets were to be affected by the revolt of the Irish against rent, the British government would be a little firmer in the vindication of order and the rights of property."

He came home on leave from his embassy at St. Petersburg, probably in order to participate in discussions and consultations that so nearly concerned him. He prepared and submitted to the Cabinet a "Confidential Memorandum on the present aspects of the Irish Land Question," which he sent to Mr. Gladstone, who acknowledged it in the letter subjoined—

December 12, 1880.—"I thank you for your paper, which, in a large degree commands my sympathies. That is to say, I am averse to either covert or open expropriation of the class of landlords, and I have not yet seen in what sense a man is a proprietor who does not ultimately determine, under whatever checks, who shall be the occupier of the land.

"On the other hand, I do not understand by free sale a sale without any limitations, or a partnership in the land; but only a right, not subject to absolute unconditional veto, of transferring by assignment two things, viz., the tenant's improvements and his interest in his occupation as his means of livelihood. Such a right I rather think was recognized in our Land Bill of '70, though not in the Act. It may want limitation and restraint, but I cannot see that the principle is in its essence bad. I do not now touch cases where it has been bought out."

By this time the agitation in Ireland over the demands of the tenantry was again boiling up. Agrarian outrages were rife; Mr. Parnell and others had been prosecuted for conspiracy; a stringent Act for protection of life

and property had been passed, and Mr. Gladstone was preparing the Irish Land Act of 1881. A memorial, signed by some of Lord Dufferin's late tenants, had been submitted to Mr. Gladstone, in which he was accused of unjust and illiberal dealing with the tenants on his estate. Mr. Gladstone transmitted it to Lord Dufferin, who replied from St. Petersburg in a long letter, expressing his pain and vexation at receiving a document of this kind through the Prime Minister, and refuting in detail the charges made against him. Among the facts that he produced in answer to the allegations that he had confiscated the tenants' improvements by rack-renting, is a statement in detail proving that during the past thirty years he had spent £102,000 * on his own property, by abatements of rent, by compensating tenants for their improvements and making them at his own cost, and by compensation paid for tenant-rights. In conclusion he wrote—

“I may fairly say that I have endeavoured to do my duty faithfully and honestly in the difficult station in which I have been placed. Up till now I have certainly succeeded in retaining the affectionate regard of my tenantry, for there has been no critical incident in my life where they have not voluntarily come forward to testify in the most genuine manner the sympathy and interest they felt in my welfare, the last and not the least affectionate of these demonstrations being on my return from Canada.”

To a friend he wrote at the same time—

“I have been rather annoyed lately by the publication in the *Pall Mall* of extracts from a memorial addressed to Gladstone by ‘the tenantry of eight townlands,’ as they style themselves, ‘on what was once the Dufferin Estate,’ the truth being that the memorial has been signed by seventy-two persons out of several hundreds. . . . They said that I had been in intimate communication with Mr.

* On coming of age Lord Dufferin had rather imprudently granted his tenants an abatement of £2,000 a year of his rental for twenty-one years.

Gladstone before his accession to office, had learned the terms of his Land Act of 1870, and had drawn my leases with a view to counteract the Premier's beneficent legislation. Upon this the whole of my Clandeboy tenantry sent me in an address, repudiating the assertion that I had in any way forced the leases upon them, and declaring their entire satisfaction with them."

Mr. Gladstone answered—

March 18, 1881.—"I cannot but write another line to say how sorry I am that you should have been assailed by acrimony and untruth after all you have done and striven to do in Ireland: and that I should have been in any way the channel, through which it had to be transmitted. I thought it, however, impossible to proceed upon the paper without making an intimation to you."

From a subsequent letter of Lord Dufferin it appears that Mr. Gladstone had promised to defend him if he were seriously attacked.

Some correspondence with the Duke of Argyll in reference to the same subject here follows:—

February 18, 1881.—"All my leases, not only those which I have issued myself, but those which have been granted by my predecessors, since the latter quarter of the last century, have contained a clause precluding the tenant from assigning his lease without the consent of his landlord. As a matter of fact, we have always allowed the tenant to sell under satisfactory conditions, but since I entered upon the management of the estate, I have required the incoming tenant to sign a memorandum on the back of the lease, stating that he had not given more than so much for the interest of the lease in question (in order to prevent absurd prices being paid); and further, that what he bought was the current term of the lease, and no interest outside it or beyond it. The lease itself secures to the tenant compensation for all his improvements, etc., when it lapses; and to each lease there is attached a debtor and creditor account, in which are entered from time to time the respective sums expended on improvements whether by landlord or by tenant.

"As I have stated in my paper, the appointment of a Court with a large equitable jurisdiction to adjudicate on each individual case according to its merits ought to work well, and would be the best instrument for preventing injustice and securing general content. The danger is lest this court should prove untrustworthy. . . . Any institution composed of Irishmen is sure to be impressionable. . . . There is something almost comical in the enormous pains which the Landed Estates court takes when superintending a transfer, to record the minutest claim attached to the property that is adverse to the interests of the purchaser, in order to safeguard him from paying money for anything less than what the owner professes to sell. Thus every right of way across a field or through a gate, every right of water, every charge of every sort and description, is minutely detailed in writing and marked upon the maps ; and now there will come an Act of Parliament completely transfiguring both the character and the value of the property thus laboriously conveyed."

March 4, 1881.—"I will now give you an instance of the degree to which the moral sense of the people has been overcome by the prospect which has been held out to them of getting their landlord's property. Before I left for Canada I let a part of my demesne to a tenant who was cultivating a farm on an estate which marched with mine. He was a prosperous and well-to-do man, and was therefore in no sense driven by any necessity to take the land. He did so simply with a view to agricultural profit. An agreement was drawn up under which he was to cultivate the land for five years as a letting of demesne land in the manner provided by the Act of 1870, with a provision that any claim against me for manures, seeds, etc., should be settled by arbitration when the farm was surrendered. The five years agreed upon lapsed last November ; the tenant gave up possession ; arbitrators were appointed, all belonging unfortunately to the tenant class ; and I have had to pay £200 compensation, which my agent tells me is a horrid robbery. But let that pass. My ploughman went upon the land to plough it up, upon which the ex-tenant serves me with a legal notice to the effect that the ploughman is the intruder, and that he intends to drive him off the land, his calculation being that if only he can contrive to hold on to the farm in any shape or form until the new

Land Act passes, he will be gratified with a perpetual right of occupying seventy acres of the best part of my park."

August 6, 1881.—"The most important points are that land which has been let under special circumstances for a limited period should not be taken away from the proprietors, and that farms upon which the tenant-right has been bought up, should remain free from that incubus, as guaranteed by the Act of 1870. It would be really too monstrous if the same men who told us ten years ago that our land might be emancipated by a certain payment, should give back to the tenant the very thing he had sold, and whose price is still warm in his pocket.

"Again, I have two or three large home farms attached to different residences, which were all on my own hands when I went to Canada; but which I have since let out for five years to substantial farmers who have holdings on other parts of the estate, and to whom it was convenient to take this additional land. It was expressly stipulated between us in writing that the land was taken for five years, and that at the expiration of that term all claims for manures, etc., should be settled by arbitration. One is a farm which was farmed by my brother-in-law, who gave it up, and is attached to the Castle of Killyleagh, another is inside my park, and the third is just outside the walls, but was attached to an agent's house, and was farmed by him; yet I fear as the Bill stands every one of these farms would remain for ever in the possession of the present casual tenant."

Lord Dufferin had been examined before the Bessborough Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Irish Land Laws, and he collected the substance of his memorandum, and of his evidence before the Commission into a pamphlet ("The Three F's"), which he revised and published in 1881. In this he made his last stand for the landlords, and protested, in vain, against the application of Free Sale, Fair Rent, and Fixity of Tenure to the holdings throughout Ireland. He contended against it, not only as an unjust and partial confiscation of proprietary rights, but also as in any case a half measure, that would sharpen without satisfying the appetite of the tenants for ownership.

"I have lately disposed of £370,000 worth of property, two-thirds of which averaged over twenty-seven years' purchase, principally to Belfast merchants. This £370,000 represents the accumulated thrift and industry of two or three generations of men whose industry has created the prosperity of the North. . . .

"But if the 'Three F's' are applied to the property, what will be their position and that of thousands of others similarly situated? By putting their money into the Funds, they would have secured a larger as well as an absolutely secure and certain income. As it is, the infeasible title to the fee-simple of the lands, issued to them by the Landed Estates Court, will have been converted into a mere claim to a precarious rent charge. Who can maintain in the face of the foregoing illustration, that an estate and its rental are convertible terms? Is it not plain that, if the 'Three F's' were to become law, those who have bought land in Ireland would be like beasts caught in a trap—a trap originally baited by no less a person than Sir Robert Peel when Prime Minister, and into which they have been invited to enter by successive Acts of Parliament, by the highest courts of judicature, and by those eminent statesmen who, in passing the Land Act of 1870, induced them to agree to it on the plea that, if it curtailed some of the privileges of property, it gave an impregnable stability to those which were left?"

Yet Lord Dufferin, though he fought hard for his land, had by this time discerned that the cause of the landlords was lost, and that by each successive law the tenants were gaining ground for renewed attack upon the central position.

"In the estimation of the tenant Mr. Gladstone's Act put him into the same bed with his landlord. His immediate impulse has been to kick his landlord out of bed. The temptation of the government will be to quiet the disturbance by giving the tenant a little more of the bed. This will prove a vain expedient. The tenant will only say to himself, 'One kick more, and the villain is on the floor.' If, however, instead of giving the tenant more of the bed we cut the bed in two, he will then roll himself up in his blanket, and be all in favour of every man having his own bed to himself. In other words, the problem is

to render Ireland conservative, to make it the interest of the peasantry to support law and order, to recognize the sanctity of property, and the reasonableness and necessity of rent. This can only be done by making him an owner and an owner upon a very extensive scale—upon such a scale as to render it the interest of the greater part of the population to insist upon the remainder fulfilling their legal obligations.

“How is this to be done? Let a necessary sum, raised on public securities, be devoted to the purchase, upon fair and proper terms to be regulated by a trustworthy Commission, of a considerable proportion of the lands of Ireland.”

He proposes, in short, the final expedient of State purchase to which the Legislature resorted twenty-two years afterwards. But he believed that in the west of Ireland, with its cottier tenements, its poverty, and its potato cultivation, even this drastic remedy of establishing a peasant propriety would be impracticable. For this poor folk there could be no help, he thought, except in emigration; and his recent residence in Canada suggested to him a picture of what might be gained by quitting a small island with a swarming population for the vast unpeopled plains of a great continent.

“Within the compass of little more than a week, after a pleasant voyage, a proportion of these unhappy multitudes might be landed on the quays of Quebec, the women healthier, the children rosier, and the men in better heart and spirits than ever they have been since the day they were born. Four or five days more would plant them without fatigue or inconvenience on a soil so rich, that it has only to be scratched to grow the best wheat and barley that can be raised on the continent of America. I myself have seen an immeasurable sea of corn clothing with its golden expanse what two years before had been a desolate prairie, the home of the lynx and the jackal, simply through the exertions of a small Russian colony that had run up their shanties in that favoured land. In the neighbourhood was an Irish settlement containing many descendants of the cottier peasantry who had fled from the famine of 1846, now converted into happy, loyal, and contented geo-

men. Instinctively my mind reverted to the sights I had seen in Mayo, Connemara, and Galway in 1848. Strange to say, the appearance of the horizon in each case was identical. Its verge stood out against the setting sun like the teeth of a saw ; but in Ireland this impression was produced by the gable ends of deserted cottages : in Manitoba by the long line of corn-stacks which sheltered every homestead."

But pictures of prosperity beyond sea were not likely to divert from their purpose the chiefs of the Land League, who were using agricultural claims as leverage for clearing the road toward Home Rule. Mr. Parnell was now raising Ireland against the ministry, and the Land Act of 1881 was passed under stress of violent agitation.

"The 'Three F's' were now wrenched from the Government by one of the most lawless movements which had ever convulsed any country. . . . 'I must make one admission,' said Mr. Gladstone in 1893, 'and that is that without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not now be on the Statute-book.' " *

It may be observed, in conclusion, that Lord Dufferin came into possession of his estates at the beginning of what may be termed the revolutionary period in the history of Irish land tenure, and that he lived very nearly to the end of it. When he succeeded to his inheritance, the landlord's rights were legally intact. But the Devon Commission had just then (1845) submitted to Parliament their Report, in which the growth and operation of the custom of tenant-right was thus described.

"It is difficult" (they said) "to deny that the effect of this system is a practical assumption by the tenant of a joint proprietorship in the land: and that the tendency is gradually to convert the proprietor into a mere rent charger, having an indefinite and declining annuity, or the

* Barry O'Brien, "The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell," vol. ii, p. 293.

lord of a copyhold. Landlords do not perceive that the present tenant-right of Ulster is an embryo copyhold, which must decline in value to the proprietor in proportion as the practice of tenant-right becomes confirmed, because the sum required by the outgoing tenant must regulate ultimately the balance of gross produce which will be left to meet the payment of rent. They do not see that the agrarian combination throughout Ireland is but a methodized war to obtain the Ulster tenant right, or that an established purchase not only may but must erect itself finally into law ; unless the practice itself is superseded by putting the whole question on a sound and equitable basis."

For the next thirty-five years the process described in the foregoing extract went on with increasing pressure and agitation, with many vicissitudes of attack and defence in the contest for proprietary right, as the tenants won point after point against the landlords : until, after 1881, the relative positions of the two parties became nearly inverted. For by that time possession of the land, and the power to dispose of it, had virtually passed over to the tenant in occupation, and it was the landlord who found himself with a precarious holding, imminently liable to eviction.

Whatever may be the different views held regarding the policy that prevailed in the long struggle between landlords and tenants, and between political parties, in Ireland, over the problem involved in the settlement of property in land, it must be admitted that Lord Dufferin's championship of his class, during so many years, was conducted with intelligence, foresight, and generosity. He had been a liberal and painstaking landlord, whose sympathy with the needs and grievances of the tenantry was incontestable, and who acted upon a genuine belief that the ultimate interests of the two classes were identical, and might be reconciled. From the day when he started from Oxford to do his best toward relieving the miseries of the famine, down to the end of his life, his warm interest in the welfare of Ireland never failed. He had found himself, on coming

of age, in the possession of an ample income from an estate that was supposed to be secure ; and in the improvement of this property he had invested large sums. But the encumbrances, most of which he had inherited with the estate, pressed heavily on a falling rent roll ; the trend of legislation was adverse to landlords ; so that prudence dictated to him the sale of the greater part of his land, and this change in his position and prospects must have inevitably affected his subsequent career. So far as it turned him toward foreign service, this may be reckoned to his advantage, for he rose to eminence and distinction. Yet for a man with his tastes and habits, among which must be included an hereditary propensity to profuse generosity—to large and liberal expenditure in high places—this separation from the land was probably detrimental, because the preservation of his ancestral estate would always have been his first concern, would have acted as a check upon incautious magnificence, and might have saved him, it is likely, from being left, after a series of great and for the most part costly appointments, with a small property and a straitened income. After 1872, when Lord Dufferin accepted the Canadian Governor Generalship, his close attention to Irish affairs was necessarily interrupted and relaxed. And we may take the same date as marking his withdrawal from active participation in the internal politics of the United Kingdom, since thenceforward he remained abroad, with intervals of residence at home on short holidays, till 1896.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

THE CANADIAN VICEROYALTY.

THE interest and unanimous approbation with which the announcement of Lord Dufferin's appointment to Canada was received, both in the United Kingdom and in Canada, may be taken as good evidence that it was a right and well-timed stroke of policy. The English press agreed in applauding the choice made by the Imperial government. The Canadian papers assured him of a welcome in the colony. In June 1872 the citizens of Belfast entertained Lord and Lady Dufferin, before their departure, at a banquet which brought together a large assemblage of Irishmen, who had put aside for the occasion their political and religious differences that they might unite in doing honour to a distinguished and popular fellow-countryman. No one was better qualified to appreciate the rarity of such a demonstration than Lord Dufferin; and few, if any, were so well fitted by congenial temperament, by sympathy with Irish feeling, or by power of exuberant and cordial speech, to acknowledge and respond to it. When he rose, at this banquet, to reply to the Mayor of Belfast, who had proposed his health, his gifts of picturesque oratory, of rising above conventional phrases and expressing his emotion in words that carried the conviction of sincerity and generous sensibility, were precisely adapted to captivate such an audience. He touched

lightly on the controversies that had placed him in opposition, upon Irish questions, to many in that assembly, assuring them that he had always respected their conscientious motives and their intellectual eminence. To those of his own party he spoke of his gratitude for their support and encouragement, and for "the genial and affectionate cordiality which has invested our political intercourse with the attributes of personal friendship." And his genius for striking the note of that patriotic attachment to a country and its familiar scenery which is nowhere stronger than in Ireland, was displayed in the imaginative anticipation of his own feelings at the moment when he should have taken his departure across the Atlantic.

"As the ship he sails in slowly moves away from the familiar shore, as the well-known features of the landscape, the bright villas, the pointed spires, the pleasant woods, the torrent beds that scar the mountain side, gradually melt down into a single tint, till only the broad outline of his native coast attracts his gaze, something of an analogous process operates within his mind; and, as he considers his mission and his destiny, the landmarks of home politics grow faint, the rugged controversies which divide opinion become indistinct, the antagonisms of party strife recede into the distance, while their place is occupied by the aspect of an united nation, which has confided its interests and its honour to his keeping, and by the image of the beloved Mistress he represents and serves."

From the country that he was leaving he passed, in his speech, to the country whither he was bound; to dilate upon its energetic population and the splendid future secured to it by its as yet undeveloped wealth. It may be admitted that in his peroration he availed himself to the full of the poetical licence which on such occasions may be claimed by an enthusiastic orator. But in a deliberate intention to awaken among Canadians a national spirit, the sense of their country's resources and its potency of expansion, may be found the keynote of Lord Dufferin's colonial policy.

"It may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the Dominion are themselves as yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them." . . . "Like a virgin goddess in a primæval world, Canada still walks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and by the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty as mirrored on their surface; and scarcely recks as yet of the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of nations."

A few days later he took ship for Canada, and arrived at Quebec toward the end of June 1872.

On July 24, he wrote to Lady Dartrey—

"One's first view of a new continent is always an epoch in one's life. What struck me most were the primæval woods and forests which covered the hills at Gaspé, for miles and miles through the interior. One felt one saw what Adam and Eve first opened their eyes upon."

The history of Lord Dufferin's administration in Canada has been twice related at considerable length, and with ample details. The authors of both these histories—Mr. Leggo and Mr. Stewart—are Canadians, who wrote as contemporaries and eye-witnesses, familiar with all the affairs of their country, and with the important questions that were debated and determined under Lord Dufferin's government. It must be admitted that exception was taken to their histories, when they first appeared, on the ground that they were written under a bias in favour of certain persons and policies; and that in matters upon which opinions differed, or where both sides ought to be heard, their impartiality was said to be disputable. Nevertheless in compiling this memoir it has been necessary to make large use of these works as connected narratives of the course of public events during Lord Dufferin's government in Canada; and full acknowledgment is due to the writers for the assistance, in this respect, that has been derived from them. The materials for this period of Lord Dufferin's official life are so ample as to be almost em-

barrassing. Yet among the great and manifold concerns of a widely diffused empire one brief episode in colonial politics, taken apart from its historical context, can hardly be expected to retain much more than local interest, or to be remembered generally. For this reason an attempt must be made to sketch concisely the situation that Lord Dufferin found in Canada on his assumption of the Governor Generalship.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Spain and Portugal lost their hold upon their subject provinces in America, the largest and most important of all colonial possessions attached to a European sovereignty has been Canada—in extent of territory, in the fertility of her soil, in the number of her population, superior to any other colony in the world. The union of the two Canadas was enacted in 1840. It is no slight credit to British statesmanship that from this epoch the allegiance of such a dependency should have been preserved, strengthened, and confirmed; notwithstanding grave internal dissensions, occasional disputes with the mother-country, and the close propinquity of a great republic, an example of triumphant secession. But it was in Canada that the British statesmen gradually worked out experimentally the science of colonial administration, and felt their way towards consummating the right relations between a colony and its metropolis by the gradual devolution of internal self-government.

The first constitution granted to Canada in 1791 was, for those days, liberal; it created a parliament consisting of an elected assembly, and a Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor, for each of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; and some years afterwards the Assemblies undertook the raising of additional revenue by taxation. But the executive power was in the hands of the Governor and his Council; and it naturally became the object of the Assemblies to use their taxing power as an instrument for wresting administrative control and official patronage out of those hands; while in the Assembly of Lower Canada

the division between the French and English parties was rapidly widened, in the contest for superiority, by religious and racial animosities. In this province the majority were French, mainly agricultural ; the English minority held the larger farms, monopolized the trade, wholesale and retail, were richer and more enterprising ; so that the discord produced by these divergent interests bred open disorder, and when Lord Durham reached the colony in 1838, the constitution of Lower Canada had been suspended. The cause of this political confusion he found to be the antagonism prevailing between the elected bodies and the executive government ; and the remedy that Lord Durham devised was a much more liberal recognition of the representative principle in the administration. He also proposed the union of the two Provinces in one Legislative Assembly ; whereby the popular representation could be elevated and strengthened, and the French party in Lower Canada could be held in check by a majority in a national chamber. It was a wise and eminently successful measure, yet the great value of the reforms that followed Lord Durham's celebrated report lay not so much in the constitutional amendment as in the change of policy that he strenuously recommended, and that was accepted by the ministry at home. In the first Parliament held under the Union in 1841 the Governor General formally recognized the system of administering the country through responsible ministers. Nevertheless, the complete admission of the principle that executive power and responsibility are vested in ministers commanding a majority in the legislature, dates from the Governor Generalship of Lord Elgin,* who accorded full scope to the play of representative institutions, placed himself above and beyond the strife of parties on questions of internal politics, and resolutely supported his ministers so long as they were kept in office by a majority. His immovable adherence to this principle was put to a sharp test. When the ministry passed a bill authoriz-

* 1847-1854.

ing the indemnification of damages caused to French inhabitants of Lower Canada by a revolt in that province, the British party broke out into furious riot, burnt the Parliament house, and demanded the Governor General's recall. But Lord Elgin's firmness on this occasion convinced the French Canadians that they might rely on the Governor General's impartiality; and ministerial responsibility was thenceforward effectually established. Twenty-five years later, Lord Dufferin faced another storm of unpopularity in steadfastly backing his ministers against tumultuous opposition to their proceedings.

It is worth noticing that the Irish famine of 1846, which so deeply interested Lord Dufferin, and first roused his attention to public affairs, affected so distant a country as Canada. A great multitude of starving and sickly emigrants from Ireland flooded the colony, reinforcing the Roman Catholic population, and forming a party not without sympathy, at first, with the resentment against England fostered by their fellow-countrymen in the United States. But in the next generation this feeling had almost died away. When Lord Dufferin, an Oxford undergraduate, was striving to alleviate misery at home, and to aid the flight of impoverished peasants from a desolate land, he little thought that he should meet them and their children under very different conditions in Canada.

But the Legislative Union was imperfect and inconclusive as an organic institution, for by the equal representation of the two provinces, political parties were so nearly balanced as to produce chronic instability of Cabinets. And the civil war in the United States impressed upon the British government the necessity of strengthening Canada by a wider measure of national consolidation. In 1864 the first definite movement towards Confederation was initiated by a conference between delegates from the two Canadas, Upper and Lower. It was joined by delegates from the maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island; and after considerable discussion resolutions

were drawn up, which formed the basis of the Confederation that was finally sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament in 1867.

By the British North American Act of 1867, passed when Lord Carnarvon was Colonial Secretary, the four provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, had been united under the name of the Dominion of Canada, and July 1 had been celebrated as Dominion Day. But the accession of Nova Scotia to this union had been opposed by a strong party in that province, on the ground that the question had not been laid before the constituencies by a dissolution of the local assembly ; and on the next general election the Nova Scotian ministry that had assented to confederation was driven from office. It was not until more satisfactory terms were offered to Nova Scotia by the Dominion ministry, that the Act of the Imperial Parliament was allowed to come smoothly into practical operation. In 1871, British Columbia and Vancouver's Island joined the Confederation upon conditions, the most important of which stipulated that the Canadian railway to the Pacific should be commenced within two years and completed in ten. The territory of Manitoba, purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, had been constituted a province of the Confederation in 1869 ; but on the Lieutenant-Governor's arrival to take possession he was resisted by an armed party led by Louis Riel, a French half-breed ; and the worst act of violence committed on the English-speaking population by these rebels was the cruel murder of Thomas Scott, an emigrant from Ontario, and the son of a tenant on Lord Dufferin's Clandeboye estate. In an expedition that was despatched to put down the insurrection Colonel (now Viscount) Wolseley first proved himself a skilful military leader, of singular judgment and resource in arduous circumstances. The rebellion was suppressed, and the people were conciliated and brought into the union ; but Riel escaped and remained several years at large. The Dominion of Canada now extended across the con-

continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, yet Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland held aloof ; and all subsequent overtures have failed to bring Newfoundland within the Confederation.

When, therefore, Lord Dufferin assumed office in 1872, he found the whole of British North America, except the two islands in the Atlantic, consolidated into one Commonwealth ; and he was the first who assumed the Governor Generalship under auspices so full of promise for the future prosperity of the great Dominion. Yet, although the weaving together of these hitherto separate territories had been accomplished, some loose ends still remained to be gathered up. The line of railway to the Pacific, which was of vital importance to the connexion, territorial and administrative, of the far western states with the eastern centres of trade and government, had not yet been surveyed ; the obstacles of slow and tiresome journeying by uncertain communications kept the provinces apart, while in the interior the jarring elements of race and religion were still active. The Red Indians were still but partially tamed and settled in the West ; the French population had rarely intermingled with the English-speaking inhabitants ; and these two sections formed political bodies that seldom came into contact without friction. In Manitoba the just resentment of the English for Scott's assassination, and a determination to punish his murderers, was still fierce and firm. Between Canada and the great republic on her southern frontier there were several undetermined questions ; and the United States were never backward in taking umbrage upon slight provocation, or in bringing their powerful pressure to bear upon the weak points of the British dominion in North America. Nevertheless Lord Lisgar could declare, in his speech before vacating the Governor Generalship in 1872, that he left no serious difficulties to his successor, and that there were no clouds on the political horizon of Canada. The task remaining for Lord Dufferin was to consolidate the edifice on these broad foundations, to act the part

of supreme moderator and referee in all inter-Statal disputes or misunderstandings, and, above all, to draw closer the ties of loyalty and reciprocal interests that attached, with increasing strength, this powerful autonomous Confederation to the British empire.

Lord Dufferin's nomination had created lively expectations in Canada. Among his immediate predecessors no one had come out with equal rank and reputation, or with his record of public services at home. His love of art and literature, his open-handed liberality, his travels abroad and his position in English society, were the points of attraction that gave lustre to excellent practical abilities. The Canadian press lost no time in expounding to His Excellency, upon his arrival in the colony, the nature and extent of his duties, exhorting him to repair the shortcomings of his predecessors in sumptuary matters and social deportment, to entertain freely, to be easy of access, to govern constitutionally. Few had been the Governors, it was impressed upon him, whose hospitality had been on the scale befitting a popular ruler in the broad sense of that enviable designation. If they had not (said the journalist) encroached upon the liberties of the people, neither had they much entrenched for the popular benefit upon their own salaries; they had travelled little about the country, and were exclusive at headquarters—"the ladies who presided at Government House had not always drawn the distinction between coldness and condescension." Not only what he should avoid, but what he should do, was delicately suggested to him; he should visit all parts of the Dominion, should converse affably with all sorts and conditions of men, attend festive gatherings, patronize public sports, and closely identify himself by these arts with the population; bearing always in mind that the slightest deviation from constitutional principles would be quickly and stoutly reprehended.

Not every Governor General, on his first appearance in a strange country, would have read without uneasi-

ness a programme of this admonitory sort, published for his information and guidance. Lord Dufferin, however, seems to have been in no way disconcerted; for whatever had been the colonial expectations they were not only fulfilled but surpassed. From Quebec their Excellencies proceeded to the administrative capital at Ottawa, and thence without delay to Montreal, where the Governor General replied to an address from the Mayor in French by a speech in the same language. The journalists reported, to the admiration of the Canadians, that "His Excellency speaks French with a pure Parisian accent, he also reads Greek and Latin, and has made considerable progress in hieroglyphics." Lord Dufferin returned from Montreal to Quebec, where he fitted up quarters for a month's residence, by considerable outlay of his own money, in the old Fort.

He writes on July 24, 1872, to Lady Dartrey—

"The view from the citadel of Quebec is really quite magnificent. To the right at your feet, close to the perpendicular walls of the fortress and stretching far away into the distance west and east, lies the broad expanse of the St. Lawrence, with hundreds of large three-masted ships floating on its bosom, while a quantity of busy little steamers, or fitting sail boats, give inexpressible cheerfulness to the scene. On the other hand is the stream of the St. Charles girdling the northern bastion of the city, and beyond it there stretches a beautiful rich undulating plain, decorated with hundreds of white glistening vales, woodlawns and cornfields, intermingled with many a church spire, and far away in the distance the range of the Laurentian hills. These form a very picturesque outline, and are covered almost to their summits with wood, while every hour of the day their colour varies under the prismatic alchemy of the translucent atmosphere."

"I have at last succeeded" (he wrote) "in fighting my way into the citadel of Quebec, though Wolfe scarcely met with greater difficulties in doing so;" he had now, that is to say, taken possession of the apartments that had cost him much to repair and furnish. Here he began

a course of receptions, levées, dinner-parties, and dances, varied by visits to public institutions—that delighted all classes of the people, and certainly opened their hearts toward a Governor General who was giving such acceptable proofs of his desire to know and be known by them, and whose words were as ready and genial as his hospitality. He wrote from there to Lady Dartrey on September 5—

“ I am very much pleased with what I have seen of the society. Both men and women are dignified, unpretending, and polite, very gay and ready to be amused, simple in their ways of life, and quite free from vulgarity or swagger.”

“ Encamped as we have been ” (he said in a speech on leaving Quebec), “ upon the rock above us, and confined within the narrow carcanets of the citadel, it was impossible for us to open our doors as widely as we could have wished ; but though in one sense the space for your accommodation has been restricted, in another way, at all events, we can make provision for you all. In the chambers of our hearts there is room and verge enough for many friends : their avenues are guarded by no state or ceremonial, . . . and those who once enter need never take their leave.”

The genial hospitality of their Excellencies had not been thrown away.

“ When we arrived at Quebec ” (Lord Dufferin writes) “ the inhabitants showed neither interest nor curiosity . . . but on quitting the same place a few months later the whole population lined the streets, the sky was darkened with flags, we ourselves were deluged with bouquets, and half a dozen steamers crammed full with the society of the place escorted us twelve miles up the river. Ever since we have never entered a town without being met by horse, foot and artillery and all the paraphernalia of a triumphal progress.”

The visits to Toronto, where Lord Dufferin rented a house for some weeks, and again to Montreal, were celebrated by similar festivities. Their Excellencies were seen everywhere, at the schools and at the sports.

To a New York newspaper a correspondent from Canada wrote—

“Not only does he give splendid balls and magnificent dinners, but he holds levées, attends concerts, patronizes Lacrosse matches, lays corner stones, attends University convocations, receives addresses on all possible occasions, and delivers happy impromptu replies.”

The lively versatility with which Lord Dufferin could adapt his speeches to very diverse audiences, his power of felicitous local allusion, and the genuine interest that he showed in education at all stages, were welcomed with admiring approbation by a community to whom this style of interpreting high duties and official dignities appears to have been a surprising novelty. They took attentive notice of his manners, and listened to his advice upon the subject. The emphasis that he laid, in speaking to a girls' school, on the importance of cultivating natural politeness, on the essential distinction between self-reliance and self-assertion, was carefully reported and well received. To judge from the comments of the Canadian press, the procession, so to call it, of Lord and Lady Dufferin through the principal towns of Canada during 1872, their unstinted exertions to make acquaintance with all classes, to secure their confidence by kindness and even profuse liberality, by the art of wearing lightly and easily the indispensable armour of official etiquette, were rewarded by enthusiastic appreciation.

In November (1872) Lord Dufferin was at Ottawa, his official capital. It was then, as he describes it—

“a very desolate place, consisting of a jumble of brand new houses and shops, built or building, and a wilderness of wooden shanties spread along either side of long, broad strips of mud, intersecting each other at right angles, which are to form the future streets of Canada's capital. Ottawa can, however, boast two fine features, one natural the other artificial, the one the river and its delta, and the other a magnificent Gothic pile of public buildings in which are

included the Houses of Parliament and the ministerial offices."

From Ottawa he wrote to the Duke of Argyll—

"The loyalty of this people is universal, and perfectly genuine and disinterested. Not a shilling of English money finds its way here, and the *£ s. d.* argument would probably lead many of them to annexation: but they are intensely proud of being Englishmen, of being able to claim a share in the past glories and in the future prospects of the mother country."

In a country of no great inequality in rank and fortunes, where habits of life are for the most part uniform and simple, the impersonation of the refinement and culture of the best metropolitan society by the representatives of distant royalty, by a Governor General who was expansive, adventurous, gay, and by a lady who sustained her own part with a kindly grace that won universal applause, must have been signally effective. Without doubt it was also advantageous politically. That it had done great good in this latter sense was admitted by Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier, although he nevertheless hinted an apprehension that hospitality on a grand scale might create a difficulty for future Governors General, and that too magnificent an assertion of the imperial sovereignty would not altogether please all Canadians, many of whom, he said, had been more or less tinged with American ideas. (And it is, in fact, conceivable that to the notions of parliamentary ministers the prospect of a great rise in the influence and popularity of a Governor General might not be wholly palatable. Lord Dufferin's English friends had apprehensions of another sort. A few months later the Duke of Argyll, writing to him on other matters, added this postscript—

"I hear terrible things about your expenditure. People say that you will be entirely ruined. Do not be too

Irish, or too Sheridanish : it is an awful combination. Of course everybody is delighted, I hear, with you and yours."

Mr. Gladstone, however, sent his congratulations "on the satisfactory commencement of your rule in Canada."

"Much has been done" (he went on to say) "by the policy of late years toward rectifying our relations with our Colonial dependencies. With none of them are these relations more satisfactory than with the Dominion, and I am confident that its people will feel the ennobling sense of manhood grow within them from year to year, and will never think of craving for the fleshpots of the old and semi-servile system."

Lord Dufferin did well to spare no pains, during the first six months of his Governor Generalship in making himself conversant with Canada and its people ; since from the beginning of 1873 he had serious business in hand. In March he opened, with striking ceremonial display, the second Parliament of the united Dominion.

"The spectacle" (he wrote to Lord Kimberley) "was really very fine, the day was bright and sunshiny, and the house was more completely filled with well-dressed ladies than has ever been the case before"—a gratifying tribute to the social popularity of their Excellencies. The Governor General, after reading his speech in English, repeated it in French ; but although the journalists had endowed him with a fine Parisian accent, he himself found comfort in the reflection that even the colonial pronunciation did not entirely attain to that standard of perfection. The most important announcement in the speech was that a charter had been granted to a body of Canadian capitalists for the construction of the Pacific Railway. Out of this business arose the complications and violent parliamentary controversies that occupied the whole session, kindled animosity and recriminations between the eastern and western provinces, and compelled Sir John Macdonald, with his ministry, to resign office before the year's end. Although the

particulars have now but little interest except to the annalist of colonial politics, it is necessary to give some account of transactions that tested Lord Dufferin's judgment and steady handling of his constitutional powers during the first twelve months of his Governor Generalship.

In accordance with the terms upon which British Columbia joined the Confederation, an Act had been passed in 1871 by which the Dominion government stood pledged to provide a subsidy toward constructing the Pacific railway, and to arrange for its completion within ten years from July 1871. After some competition between two companies for the contract to make this line, the Premier, Sir John Macdonald, succeeded in negotiating the formation of a third company, which included members of the two rival associations, with Sir Hugh Allan, a well-known Canadian capitalist, as chairman. One of the stipulations made by the Act authorizing the incorporation of a company to undertake the railway, had been that the management and control should be as far as possible in the hands of Canadian subjects of the British Crown; and Sir Hugh Allan had declared that in forming his company this condition had been observed.

It was to this company that the announcement at the opening of Parliament in March referred. But in April a member of the Opposition, Mr. Huntingdon, unexpectedly moved for an inquiry into the circumstances connected with the negotiations that had preceded its formation, alleging that the capital funds had been surreptitiously obtained from subscribers in the United States, with the cognizance of the Canadian government, and upon an understanding that in consideration of receiving the contract, Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should contribute a large sum of money toward promoting the return of Sir John Macdonald and his party at the next general election. This motion, being treated by the ministry as one of non-confidence, was immediately put to the vote and defeated; but the Premier next

day proposed and subsequently carried a resolution appointing a special Parliamentary Committee to make the inquiry demanded by Mr. Huntingdon. The next step was to pass a Bill empowering this Committee to examine witnesses on oath. Although Sir John Macdonald doubted whether such an enactment would be found to be within the competency of the Canadian Parliament, he could not oppose it without laying himself under the imputation of obstructing the inquiry on a technical point. It was left to the Governor General to determine whether he should assent to the Bill, or reserve the question of legal validity for decision by Her Majesty's government; and Lord Dufferin determined to give his assent. In his judgment the Bill was within Canadian jurisdiction; and since the effect of a reservation would be to postpone indefinitely the investigation of very grave charges affecting the honour of his ministers, the motive of creating such delay would, he thought, be very widely misinterpreted. The Committee met, accordingly, for the inquiry; but the absence of some essential witnesses induced them to adjourn until August, and in the meantime the Oaths Bill was disallowed as *extra vires* by the Home government. All further proceedings by the Parliamentary Committee were then virtually abandoned, as some of the members declined to hear unsworn evidence. The House of Commons adjourned, however, to August 13, on the understanding that its meeting on that day should be merely formal, for the reception of any report that might be submitted by the Committee, and that the Governor General would then prorogue it. But in July a Montreal newspaper published some confidential correspondence between Sir Hugh Allan and persons in the United States, which appeared partly to corroborate some of Mr. Huntingdon's allegations, though it did not otherwise seriously affect the ministers. This was followed, however, by the publication of other private papers, much more closely connecting Sir John Macdonald with the disbursement by Sir Hugh Allan of

large sums to be employed in the coming electoral campaign. Over these revelations a storm of popular excitement, of distrust, and of invective against the ministry, set in. It should be said at once that subsequent inquiry disproved all charges of corrupt bargains on the part of the minister; nevertheless the facts that Sir Hugh Allan had contributed unusually large sums toward the election fund of the government, and that he had been promised, though previously, the chairmanship of the railway—were sufficient to provide Sir John Macdonald's opponents with matter for vehement denunciations and plausible outcry.

At the moment of this explosion, Lord Dufferin was in Prince Edward's Island. As Parliament had been adjourned to August 13, he had planned a journey to the maritime provinces during the interval, and in June he took ship at Quebec, steamed down the river into the gulf of St. Lawrence, rounded the coast to a port in New Brunswick, and after a short stay crossed to Prince Edward's Island. He congratulated the islanders on the accession, which had just been accomplished, of their province to the Confederation, held levées, received and replied to addresses, and passed on to Pictou in Nova Scotia, where he was loyally welcomed. Another short voyage landed him in Cape Breton Island, at Louisburgh, a place of famous memory in the old French wars, particularly for its siege and capture by a party of New England volunteers in 1745, when Louisburgh was the main stronghold of the French in those parts. The next port was Halifax, where the Governor General's reception (he wrote) was at first very cold. The friction caused by the somewhat hasty and inconsiderate bringing of Nova Scotia into the Union had not yet been forgotten, and Confederation was still unpopular. Moreover the recent revelations had made a sudden change in the tone of the press, and the political temperature had fallen as by a shift of the wind. Public opinion throughout the Dominion now became concentrated upon the Governor General, whose views, intentions, and

probable line of action in regard to the Parliament's prorogation, were eagerly canvassed. While the political prophets of each party confidently foretold that His Excellency must and would take the course that was dictated by their interests, he was strictly and severely warned by both parties against the dangerous constitutional error of siding with their opponents. Lord Dufferin was under this cross-fire of angry recriminations when his health was proposed at a banquet in Halifax by the Chief Justice, who said—

“Now, when His Excellency is embarked on a sea of political currents and vicissitudes, where the waters boil and fret below, his parliamentary training and antecedents assure us that, in discharging the high duties of a constitutional Governor, there will be still a guiding star, an elevated point to which his aim will be directed, and which will preserve untarnished the dignity of the Crown and his own personal honour.”

Lord Dufferin was addressed as the pilot who could be trusted to weather a storm; and he replied in a straightforward yet remarkably adroit speech, disowning any political partisanship, and affirming a position above the winds and waves of parliamentary strife. He declared that his only guiding star, in the conduct of public affairs, was the Canadian Parliament, and that as for the newspapers that condemned his views and opinions, about which they knew nothing, their displeasure would be, he believed, no less transitory and innocuous than the castigations inflicted upon Mumbo Jumbo by simple folk when the crops or the cattle had gone wrong. The speech made a very good effect in Nova Scotia and elsewhere; but the time was evidently unpropitious for a quiet mid-summer cruise; and Lord Dufferin's correspondence shows how these troubles beset him as he returned expeditiously to Ottawa.

At headquarters the situation was decidedly embarrassing; for the immediate issue between two bitterly hostile parties was whether the Parliament should be

prorogued after the pro-formâ meeting on August 13, as had been arranged at the last adjournment. Prorogation meant the temporary postponement of all inquiry into the direct charges of misconduct that were now hanging over the ministry, fiercely pressed by the Opposition, and generally believed in the country to have some foundation. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues, nevertheless, officially advised the Governor General to prorogue; while on the other hand the Opposition leaders vehemently demanded that the inquiry should be prosecuted at once, protesting that prorogation would be an obvious and indefensible device to shield discredited ministers, and to connive at the suspension of their impeachment. On Sir John Macdonald's side it was urged that since the meeting of Parliament had been understood to be merely for the despatch of unimportant business, to be immediately followed by prorogation, a large number of members from the distant constituencies would be absent; that the enemies of the ministry, on the other hand, were mustering all their forces, and that the result of investigating the charges before a House so constituted would be that the Premier would be tried by his accusers. For the Governor General to refuse prorogation, moreover, would have been to act on the advice, not of his ministers, but of the Opposition, and to prejudice the case, in a certain degree, by a strong indication of distrust. Upon these considerations Lord Dufferin agreed with his ministers to prorogue, having stipulated that the Parliament should meet again within two months or so for resuming the inquiry. Two hours before he entered the Senate chamber, a deputation from members of the Opposition pressed him in very strong language to adjourn; the House of Commons opened its sitting in a tumult of anger and indignation; and His Excellency's message was greeted with "groans, hisses, and uproar."

Nevertheless the prorogation was announced, and as the storm subsided, it was found that the promise of an autumn session was admitted by the public at large to

be a reasonable alternative, so that Lord Dufferin gained the credit of having piloted the ship with constitutional steadiness through an awkward strait. The leader of the Opposition, whose voice had been loudest against the Governor General, was Mr. Mackenzie ; but even his wrath Lord Dufferin contrived to mollify—

“ Luckily, the other evening ” (he wrote to the Colonial Secretary) “ I stumbled up against Mackenzie in the dark, and had a chat, which went off very amicably—indeed, so amicably that the next day he called upon me to apologize for some harsh expressions which had been falsely attributed to him in the report of the indignation meeting over which he presided. During the course of this conversation I found he had got it into his head that the government at home was unfavourable to him, but on this point I completely reassured him, explaining that neither you nor Mr. Gladstone would raise your little finger to save any Canadian Prime Minister—and that all he had to do was to present himself to me with a parliamentary majority at his tail, and that he would find me as loyal and friendly to him as I then was to Macdonald. This pleased him immensely.”

Lord Dufferin's feelings are concisely described in the following extract from a private letter to Lord Kimberley :—

“ I have been very much bored and worried, and it is vexatious being dragged into such a dirty quarrel : and I regret coming into collision with any section of my Canadians. But I don't think their ill-humour will last long, and I am not sorry to have an opportunity of showing them that however anxious I may be to be gracious and civil, I don't care a damn for any one when a matter of duty is involved.”

One of the chief objections raised against the measure of prorogation had been that it would necessarily operate to dissolve, *ipso facto*, the Parliamentary Committee to whom the inquiry into the minister's conduct had been made over. But Lord Dufferin held that this argument

could not outweigh the much more important considerations that determined his action, and that this business ought to be treated separately. He explained his views with characteristic vivacity in his public despatch reporting all the circumstances.

“The reasons which induced me to agree to the prorogation of Parliament . . . appeared sufficiently cogent to overpower any countervailing arguments founded on the necessity of keeping the Committee alive. However much I might have desired to do so, I could not have treated Parliament as a pregnant woman, and prolonged its existence for the sake of the lesser life attached to it.”

It may be here mentioned that Her Majesty's government, in acknowledging the receipt of Lord Dufferin's despatches, fully approved his having acted according to constitutional usage; and that the *London Times*, which had reflected rather hastily on his proceeding, now pronounced his vindication to be complete.

Immediately after proroguing the Parliament, Lord Dufferin issued a Commission to three gentlemen of high judicial standing, directing them to investigate the circumstances under which the Railway contract had been granted. This act brought down upon the Governor General a fresh shower of aspersions, for since the Commission was appointed on the advice of his ministers, he was charged with having permitted the accused, by collusion, to select their own judges. Nevertheless, the Commissioners held a public inquiry, and reported to Parliament the evidence that had been collected, without recording any opinion thereupon. Although the imputation of corrupt practices was clearly refuted, it was proved that the Premier had accepted, from a person to whom the government had granted a contract, large sums of money which had been employed to influence the elections. In a letter written to Sir John Macdonald shortly before Parliament reassembled, Lord Dufferin said, after completely absolving him from all charges affecting his personal integrity—

"It is still an indisputable and patent fact that you and some of your colleagues have been the channels through which extravagant sums of money, derived from a person with whom you were negotiating on the part of the Dominion, were distributed throughout the constituencies of Ontario and Quebec, and have been applied to purposes forbidden by the statutes."

Seven days of acrimonious debate on the report of the Commissioners began with the meeting of the Parliament on October 23; Prince Edward's Island having in the mean time joined the Confederation. The speeches were enormously long, the blows interchanged were rough and heavy; it was not so much a crossing of rapiers as a whacking of clubs. Sir John Macdonald defended himself with great courage and consummate ability, but the facts reported were undeniably damaging, and the ranks of his adherents became gradually weaker by defection, until after a week's hard fighting he anticipated an adverse division by tendering his resignation, which the Governor General accepted. To Lord Dufferin, who had been prepared for it, this conclusion was not on the whole unsatisfactory, since in his private opinion a formal approval, by a majority, of the proceedings of the ministry would have been detrimental to the reputation of the Canadian Parliament. Thus ended the great Pacific Railway Scandal.

"The hard part of the business has been" (Lord Dufferin writes) "that all the time I was being accused of partiality, and devotion to the interests of my ministers, my real sympathies were quite the other way—not indeed with the politicians who were working the scandal against Macdonald for their own ends, but with the sound-thinking portion of the nation, who in spite of their predilections for the man who had done more than anybody else to erect them into a nation, were endeavouring, in a blind, untutored way, to get at the truth, and to relieve themselves of the discredit in which their rulers had involved them."

"But for this very reason, I was quite determined not to allow the Opposition 'to chop their fox,' as they wanted

to do on August 13, instead of running him fairly to ground in accordance with the rules of our constitution. It is an infinitely prouder and better thing for Canada that the Dominion should have purged the scandal through the action of her own Parliament, than by the intervention of an Imperial officer."

Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, formed a fresh ministry, which was returned at the next election by a great superiority of numbers.

"I am upon very pleasant terms" (Lord Dufferin writes) "with my new government. Both Mackenzie and his colleagues have made me a very handsome admission that the Pacific Scandal crisis has been conducted to a far more satisfactory issue than would have been the case had their own violent counsels of last session been followed."

The wind of public opinion veered round in Lord Dufferin's favour; journalistic censure, irritable popular suspiciousness, insinuations of underhand dealings, were cleared off the political sky; and he found himself again riding before a fair breeze of general approbation and confidence. Yet it must be confessed that his earlier impressions of warm sunshine and smooth sailing in an atmosphere of complimentary speeches and festive cordiality, had been considerably modified by later experiences in the High Latitudes of Canadian politics.

The winter of 1873-74 was spent for the most part at Ottawa; and Lord Dufferin had leisure for reviewing the impressions of Canada that he had collected during the first year of his Governor Generalship. We find him writing to Lord Carnarvon—

"Life is at times dull and lonely. Luckily I have been able to take to the winter amusements of the country, and with skating and curling get plenty of exercise.

"I also find great consolation in my books. I have read a great deal of French history and the whole of Plutarch's Lives in the original tongue since coming here. I can now read Greek almost as well as French without a dictionary."

Lord Carnarvon replied—

“I quite appreciate the sense of occasional weariness which you describe as coming over you : but I hope you will put it aside, for you have a great work to do ; though the feeling of direct and personal power may be wanting, yet the indirect influence that you exercise is really quite as powerful. Above all, your influence is required now when you have new men in office on whom as yet it is impossible to place as much reliance as on their predecessors. If only you can hold things together in Canada and consolidate the Dominion, we shall have a reasonable chance of preserving it from absorption into its larger neighbour.”

To the Governor of an autonomous English colony the condition and tendency of public opinion in regard to its connexion with the mother country, are questions of supreme interest. The British empire presents the unique spectacle of a metropolitan State controlling by sundry and manifold relations a number of possessions and dependencies in different parts of the world, all of them relying for defence and protection mainly upon the imperial command of the seas. No other empire has been, or is, so constituted ; and this geographical situation lies at the base of our colonial policy. Great Britain has acquired, during the course of the nineteenth century, the habit of holding her possessions in North America and Australasia upon the very singular political tenure of sovereignty by mutual consent. She manages her free self-governing colonies with a light hand and a loose rein, and is always ready to inquire whether they find the harness comfortable. Lord Dufferin's first letter to Lord Carnarvon, who succeeded Lord Kimberley as Colonial Secretary in the beginning of 1874, dwells naturally upon this question ; and he has the satisfaction of assuring his chief that Canada is profoundly loyal.

April 25, 1874.—“ You may depend upon my doing my best both to weld this Dominion into an Imperium solid enough to defy all attraction from its powerful neighbour across the Line, and to perpetuate its innate loyalty to

the mother country. It was only upon the understanding that this should be a principal part of our programme, that I consented to come here, and thus far I have no cause to complain of the result.

"All active desire for annexation seems to be annihilated. No public man would dare to breathe a word in its favour, and those who committed themselves a few years ago to such a policy are doing all they can to obtain oblivion for their opinions. There may indeed be a few individuals at Montreal—bankers, capitalists, and others—whose material interests are so implicated with various commercial undertakings in the States, as to make them wish for a change, but the whole current of popular sympathy runs in an opposite direction. But though union with the Republic has become an obsolete idea, I cannot help suspecting that there is a growing desire amongst the younger generation to regard 'Independence' as their ultimate destiny. Nor do I think that this novel mode of thought will be devoid of benefit, provided it remains for the next twenty or thirty years a vague aspiration, and is not prematurely converted into a practical project. Hitherto there has been a lack of self-assertion and self-confidence amongst Canadians in forcible contrast with the sentiments which animate our friends to the south of us; now, however, the consolidation of the provinces, the expansion of their maritime interests and above all the reduction to their sway of the great North-West, has stimulated their imagination, and evoked the prospect of a national career far grander than as Nova Scotians, or New Brunswickers, or Upper and Lower Canadians, they would have dreamt of a few years ago.

"If then this growing consciousness of power should stimulate their pride in the resources and future of their country, nay, even if it should sometimes render them jealous of any interference on the part of England with their Parliamentary autonomy, I do not think we shall have any cause of complaint. On the contrary, we should view with favour the rise of a high-spirited proud national feeling amongst them. Such a sentiment would neither be antagonistic to our interests, nor inimical to the maintenance of the tie which now subsists between us. The one danger to be avoided is that of converting this healthy and irrepressible growth of a localized patriotism into a condition of morbid suspicion or irritability, by any exhibi-

tion of jealousy, or by the capricious exercise of authority on the part of the Imperial government. Nothing has more stimulated the passionate affection with which Canada now clings to England than the consciousness that the maintenance of the connexion depends on her own free-will.

"Were, however, the curb to be pressed too tightly, she might soon become impatient, the cry for independence would be raised a generation too soon, and annexation would be the direct and immediate consequence. For with her present inferiority of population, wealth, and more especially her obvious want of political stamina, the force of gravitation unbalanced by the influence of the English connexion which now overcomes it, would drag her straight into the bosom of the great Republic.

"One thing at least is pretty sure, namely, that the St. Lawrence will eventually become the great outlet for the products of the northern half of the continent, whether grown on Canadian or United States territory. In another fifty years Montreal will rival New York, and if the international boundary is ever to alter, it is just as likely to do so in a southerly as a northerly direction.

"Be that as it may, and quite apart from all considerations of our own advantage, it will be for the future welfare of this continent that it should not be dominated by a single government, or its civilization fashioned in the same mould and cut to a uniform pattern. Already the social, political, and intellectual monotony which pervades America is very oppressive; and one shudders to think of this gigantic area becoming possessed by an enormous population of units, as undistinguishable from one another as peas in their habits of thought and conduct, and subject consequently to an instantaneous impulse from any sudden paroxysm or wave of historical sentiment. From this evil Canada at all events will deliver them, if only she gets the chance of developing her individuality, for every year will render more distinct the differences which will be evolved out of a different political system."

It has been already said that the general election placed Mr. Mackenzie in office by a decisive majority. When the new Parliament assembled in March 1874, the ministry were at once confronted by a serious difficulty. The constituency of Provencher in Manitoba, in which French influence predominated, had returned as

their member Louis Riel, who was under an indictment for the murder of Thomas Scott during the Manitoba insurrection of 1869, and had hitherto evaded arrest. He nevertheless entered the House of Commons, took the oath, and again disappeared, not without some connivance, as was generally believed, within Ottawa. Meanwhile Lepine, who had been Riel's chief staff-officer at the time of Scott's murder, had been captured and was awaiting his trial. Here was a case that threatened to stir up again active discussion between the two sections, divided by race and religion, in the population of the Dominion. Riel was regarded by the French half-breeds of the West as their champion and representative; while the sentiments of Lower Canada, where the inhabitants are of French descent, were deeply tinged by the same feeling of nationality. The English-speaking folk were equally determined that this notorious criminal should not escape retribution; and in this situation, clouded as it was by smouldering heat, Lord Dufferin was anxious to avert an open breach between the two parties. The new ministers were in dire perplexity, being equally reluctant either to quarrel with their French supporters or to offend the Protestant community of Ontario, the province to which Scott belonged, and where Mr. Mackenzie, when a member of the Ontario government, had offered a reward for Riel's capture. They foresaw that in the event of Lepine's conviction on the capital charge it would be for them to determine whether the sentence should be executed; and they were already suggesting the expediency of referring this critical question to the discretion of the Imperial government. Lord Carnarvon, to whom the state of this affair had been explained, wrote in November, 1874, to Lord Dufferin—

“As regards Lepine's case, I apprehend, I think, quite clearly, the danger of the present state of feelings in Canada; and I am aware that any mismanagement might lead to the most grave results. This is the only justification in my eyes for not carrying out the just sentence of the law

upon a horrible and cold-blooded policy ; but I regard it as a case of '*salus populi*.' . . . If I am obliged, for a great public necessity and in the last resort, to intervene, it must and can only be at the express request of your government. The telegraph so quickly brings these questions into new stages, that I need not say more. I can fortunately feel such confidence in your discretion and tact, as well as in your courage, to do whatever is necessary and right, that I may—what I would hardly do in the case of any ordinary colonial governor—undertake to support you in whatever you may decide to do."

It will be convenient to anticipate matters by a brief account of subsequent proceedings, in which Lord Dufferin took an important and leading part.

Lepine's trial was held at Winnipeg in 1875, when he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. The Frenchmen and the Roman Catholics at once pressed upon the government a demand for his release, or at least for the commutation of his sentence, on the ground that both Lepine and Riel were entitled to the benefit of the amnesty that had been publicly offered to the Manitoba insurgents, and also on the plea that a promise of pardon had been subsequently made to them for all offences, including Scott's murder, by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Taché, who had been officially authorized to go to Manitoba in 1870 for the purpose of using his influence to promote the pacification of that province. In 1873 the Colonial Secretary (Lord Kimberley) had intimated that his government would consent, at the invitation of Canada, to proclaim an amnesty for all offences committed during the Manitoba insurrection, *excepting* the murder of Scott. Before the trial had been held, Lord Dufferin sent a very complete and comprehensive review of all circumstances and considerations bearing on the case, in a despatch to Lord Carnarvon. His scrutiny of the facts made it absolutely clear that Archbishop Taché had been in no sense empowered to promise a pardon to Riel and Lepine, and that the general amnesty, having been issued before Scott's

murder, could not possibly be made to screen them. Other futile pleas in their favour were summarily disproved, and the allegation that Scott was tried and executed under some form of judicial proceeding was thus disposed of by Lord Dufferin—

“ Even the decencies of an ordinary drum-head court martial were disregarded. The trial, if it can be so termed, was conducted in the absence of the accused, who was confronted with no witnesses, nor furnished with any indictment, nor allowed to plead for his life. The further details of the tragedy are so horrible, if the statements in the evidence can be relied on, that I will not shock your Lordship by repeating them ; suffice it to say that all the special pleading in the world will not prove the killing of Scott to be anything else than a cruel, wicked, and unnecessary crime, nor, had the origin of Riel’s authority been even less questionable, would it have invested him with the right of taking away the life of a fellow-citizen in so reckless and arbitrary a manner. I have, therefore, no hesitation in concluding that any claim for the extension of an amnesty to Riel founded on the assumption that the murder of Scott was a judicial execution by a legitimately constituted authority, must be disallowed.”

Nevertheless it appeared that in 1871, two years after the murder, when the Manitoba border was threatened with an irruption of Fenians, the Lieutenant-Governor, having no other means of defending it, found himself obliged to appeal to the loyalty of the French half-breeds, accepted the services of levies made by Riel and Lepine, and officially acknowledged their timely assistance. To the argument, that by entering into such relations with these men the Lieutenant-Governor had virtually committed the Dominion government to a condonation of their previous offences, Lord Dufferin drew the special attention of the Colonial Office ; and he summed up on the whole question by stating his opinion that the commutation of a capital sentence, if it were passed upon Lepine, would be desirable. He proposed to make the order whenever it should be

necessary, on his own responsibility, if Her Majesty's government should assent to his doing so. In his reply, Lord Carnarvon, who was now Secretary for the Colonies, concurred with the Governor General in rejecting decisively all claims set up by Lepine on the pretext of a general amnesty or of the Archbishop's unauthorized promise of indemnity ; but he admitted that the services rendered in 1871 by Riel and Lepine might entitle both of them to merciful consideration. And on this ground Lord Carnarvon agreed to the commutation of a capital sentence upon Lepine into whatever term of imprisonment might appear proper to the Governor General in consultation with his ministers. On receiving a telegraphic abbreviation of these instructions, Lord Dufferin, dispensing with the advice of his ministers, commuted Lepine's sentence to imprisonment for two years from the date of his conviction, and to forfeiture of civic rights. Riel was still at large, but it was implied and understood that his punishment, whenever he should have been convicted, would be the same as Lepine's. The Governor General's action in thus passing the order on his sole responsibility was much questioned, as a constitutional point, both in the Colony and in the British Parliament. In this instance he was supported and justified by Her Majesty's government, yet it was subsequently deemed advisable to prescribe that, while a Governor General might use his own judgment in exercising the prerogative of mercy, he should in all such cases be bound to consult his ministers before doing so.

In a despatch written some ten days after issuing the order, Lord Dufferin reported that the commutation had been received with general acquiescence by all sections of the Canadian population, nor does it appear to have been criticized on the score of lenity. Yet to punish by a short imprisonment an offence which Lord Dufferin had formally recorded to be "a cruel and wicked crime," and which Lord Carnarvon had stigmatized in his despatch as a "brutal and atrocious murder," might well have been thought an excessive

concession to political exigencies. It may have been expected that the certainty of escaping so easily would induce Riel to surrender. On the contrary, he absconded and remained at large for ten years, until in 1885 he returned from Montana (U.S.), to stir up and head a fresh insurrection of the French half-breeds and Saskatchewan Indians, beyond Manitoba, against the Dominion government. The Indian tribes were seduced into joining the outbreak, several barbarous murders were committed, and the suppression of this rebellion cost Canada many valuable lives and five million dollars. It is satisfactory to learn that Riel, who had been foremost throughout all these troubles, was this time captured, tried, and convicted, and that in spite of strenuous agitation made for his reprieve by sympathizers in the country and in the Parliament, he ended his career on the gallows.

SECTION II.

CANADIAN TRAVELS.

IN July 1874 Lord and Lady Dufferin embarked at Quebec on the great internal waterways, for an expedition westward through the chain of lakes that separate Canadian Ontario from the United States. The route can only be followed on a map, but for an outline it may be sufficient to say that the party went by river, narrows, and lakes, to Lake Superior, whence they turned eastward again, touching at places on the shore, and landing at Detroit and Chicago, where they were hospitably received by the citizens of the United States. By September they were again at Ottawa, where Lord Dufferin wrote to the Queen—

“Having just finished a tour of five thousand miles through the Dominion, he feels sure your Majesty will be glad to learn of the great prosperity with which this country

is blessed. The harvest has been remarkably good, all manufacturing industries are progressing, and during the whole of his journey Lord Dufferin has never met a beggar or an ill-clad person.

"The most striking feature of all, however, has been the unexampled exhibition of loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person and throne exhibited by the entire body of the people of every race, religion, and nationality, as well as their intense desire to maintain unimpaired their present connexion with Great Britain. Lord Dufferin has received upwards of a hundred and twenty addresses, every one of which was instinct with these sentiments; and every triumphal arch under which he passed—and he must have passed under several hundreds—was blazoned with mottoes indicative of the nation's love for their Sovereign."

For a description of the voyage, its scenery, and its incidents, Lord Dufferin's letters to the Duchess of Argyll, written after his return to Ottawa, may be quoted—

September 28, 1874.—"Since my last letter I have travelled five thousand four hundred miles, and ought therefore to have something to tell you.

"Our original starting-place was Quebec. Our first sight was the Falls of St. Feriole. We had driven a wearisome way over a jolty road, through a barren plateau amongst the hills, and getting out of the carriage had turned aside into the bush down a deep ravine and up the opposite side, till we reached another plateau covered with still denser wood and traversed by another trail. At the end of half a mile this suddenly terminated on the verge of a precipice overarched by trees. Right opposite to us rose, or rather fell what we had come to see—five distinct and successive falls of water, piled up one above the other to the sky, but each separated from each by the intervening pool into which it plunged. The united height of the series of cataracts was so great as to prevent us seeing the bed of the river in which the last one buried itself hundreds of feet below where we were standing. As a consequence the succession of falling waters, and the precipices which confined them, seemed detached from the surrounding landscape, like a magical picture suddenly flashed upon our

"Our next bit of scenery was at Three Rivers. Here we had again to drive thirty miles through a sparsely settled country, till we reached the primeval woods and a great river that wound through their solitudes. Crossing this in a rude barge we landed on a desolate promontory, and soon found ourselves lost in the mazes of a track half choked with brambles, which wound round and about like the pathway in an enchanted forest. At last we heard the thunderous voice of the waterfall we had come to see, and forcing our way through the tangled underwood, reached a comparatively open glade, at one side of which there roared and tumbled the turbulent river, while on the other rose the 'palace of the Sleeping Beauty'—an enormous mansion five stories high with a hundred windows and as many chimneys, balconies, porticoes, and broad staircases leading to the open doorways; but the doorways were without doors, the windows without glass, the chimneys without smoke, the palace without an inhabitant, nor had a human being ever slept beneath its roof, though the structure had been standing there in lonely magnificence for many a long year. In fact a railway had been projected to the Fall, and a speculator had designed and completed this building as a gigantic hotel, but the railway never came, the speculator disappeared, and nought was left to tell the tale but this mysterious monument of his folly.

"Passing on to Toronto we went northwards by railway into the Muskoka district, which I was anxious to visit, as it is here the government has allotted the Free Grant lands to the new settlers. It is a lovely district, intersected for hundreds of miles by a labyrinth of lakes, leading into each other through narrow sinuous channels, but though the land along their border is rich enough wherever it exists in any quantity, the surface of the country shows more rock than soil to the casual observer. The immigrants with whom I conversed appeared, however, in good heart, and very much pleased with themselves and their achievements. Their antecedents have been wonderfully strange and various. One pair had been valet and lady's maid at Keir, another man had been a scene shifter, and his wife an actress, a third couple had kept a jeweller's shop in Paris, two or three came from Iceland, one had been a soldier, and many of course were Irishmen.

"Reaching Parry Sound we took boat in a magnificent

steamer placed at my disposal by the government. She is the first ship of her class on this side of the Atlantic, and had been originally known as the *Letter B* (Let her be)—a famous blockade runner during the War.

"In this vessel we coasted along the islands of the Georgian Bay and through the Straits of Sault Ste. Marie, calling at various little towns, villages, and Indian settlements on our way, until we found ourselves in the waters of Lake Superior, 600 feet above the level of the sea, in a cool crystal atmosphere, though with a summer sun flaming above our heads.

"Having put into one or two ports, including Michipicoten, where there is an island that grows agates, we eventually reached the River Nipigon. Here we disembarked, loaded some canoes with our tents and baggage, and had a most charming expedition of five days into the interior, trout fishing as we went along. Leaving Lady Dufferin in command of the encampment which we pitched at the edge of a pool alive with trout, I and one or two friends pushed northwards as far as Lake Nipigon, an enormous sheet of water stretching due north about sixty miles. Having taken possession of it by bathing in its ice-cold depths, we turned about on our way back to the steamer.

"Our next point was Silver Islet. Originally a little rock about the size of a dining-room table peeping out of Lake Superior, it has now been expanded into a considerable island by dint of a succession of cribs filled with stones being built all round it, upon which have been superimposed houses, workshops, and engine-rooms,—the excuse of these achievements being a speck of silver ore casually observed on the surface of the original rock, which led to the discovery of one of the richest silver veins that exists in North America, and which is being followed to great advantage several hundred feet below the surface of the sea, under the auspices of an Irishman, whose family is settled on my estate.

"Having laden ourselves with specimens, we steamed off to Thunder Bay and Prince Arthur's Landing, the north-westernmost extremity of Lake Superior. Here we took a coach and went for fifty miles due west along what is known as the 'Dawson Route,' till we reached Lake Shebandowan, where a campful of Pagan Indians were awaiting us. These were the first really unsettled Indians with whom I had ever come into contact, and the only ones I had ever

seen with painted faces. After a short 'pow-wow,' at the end of which I presented the chiefs with some knives, pipes, and tobacco, we turned our faces homewards, and the next day commenced the descent of the Kaministiquia river. This was the only occasion on which we were afflicted with bad weather, but it could not have come more inopportunely. We had started at 5 a.m. in our canoes, and by 7 o'clock we were drenched to the skin, clothes and baggage swimming in water. To add to our misfortunes we had seven 'portages' on our way down, that is to say, we had to get out and unload the canoes and carry them and their contents over seven successive necks of land to avoid the cataracts of the river, an operation which implied seven or eight miles' walking for the ladies.

"On our way we passed a waterfall, which is second only to Niagara in height and volume. About three o'clock the rain ceased, but the sun was not strong enough to dry our garments. It had been arranged that a small tug should meet us at the point where the river became navigable, nine miles above its mouth, and convey us thence to our own steamer which was waiting for us at anchor in the offing. Judge of our dismay when we learnt, on arriving at the trysting-place about 7 p.m., that the tug had given us up, and returned to Prince Arthur's Landing, leaving us the pleasant prospect of an additional four hours' row in the dark. However, there was no help for it, so, after landing for a minute to look at a miserable little house in which Lord and Lady Milton had been living, and where Lady Milton had brought into the world the heir of the Fitzwilliams, we buckled to and resumed our voyage. Strange to say, although our Iroquois Indians had already been hard at work for thirteen consecutive hours, they never said a word or showed the slightest ill-temper at this unexpected addition to the day's journey. Luckily their patience did not go without its reward, for in about an hour afterwards our recreant tug was seen running towards us,—the agent at the Hudson Bay post lower down having very properly compelled her to return in search of us. By half-past eleven we again found ourselves on board the *Chicora*, heartily glad of its cosy berths after sixteen hours' voyaging. Nothing worthy of record occurred to us till we reached Chicago at the foot of Lake Michigan."

October 9, 1874.—"My last letter landed us at Chicago

after a most prosperous sail down the sea-green waters of Lake Michigan. Immediately on arriving, I was waited upon by all the civic authorities and the members of a Reception Committee and carried to the Town Hall, where the Mayor addressed me in an oration enumerating the glories of Chicago. To this I replied in suitable terms, and after two or three more addresses from other corporate bodies, and a considerable amount of hand-shaking, I was taken a drive accompanied by a long procession of carriages—this being a favourite mode of doing honour to strangers in this continent. As we passed along the streets at a foot's face the three gentlemen with me raised a pæan in honour of their city, with which I chimed in to the best of my ability. I learnt afterwards that Lady Dufferin's companions had engaged in a similar patriotic exercise.

"Having traversed two or three considerable thoroughfares remarkable for little else than their pretentious architecture, we reached an enormous area of ruined walls interspersed with the remnants of ruined churches. 'We have had quite a little fire here,' was the proud remark of my associates, evidently as pleased with the bigness of the desolation, as they had been with the piles of façade through which we had just passed. This was not, however, the site of the *great* fire of Chicago, of which we heard so much in England two or three years ago—for the vestiges of that are hidden under the foundations of the new city—but a recent conflagration of a few months back.

"In the evening I had some of the '*sommités*' of the city to dine with me on board my yacht. Amongst these was General Sheridan, who seems quite to coincide with Chesney in thinking that the army of the future should consist of mounted riflemen.

"After dinner we emigrated to an hotel called the Palmer House. It is a new hotel and supposed to be the finest in America; it will hold a thousand people, and is certainly furnished with great splendour, but the best characteristic was the excellence of its bread, butter, and milk. All the waiters are black, and hand the dishes, lay the knives and forks, pour out the wine, at a concerted signal from their leader, with the elegance, uniformity, and precision of ballet dancers.

"The next day I spent in bed with a very bad nervous headache, a fact which was announced to the public in the

morning by a sensational paragraph in all the papers to the following effect :—

“ ‘ His Royal Nibs down with a Cholic ! Dr. sent for, etc., etc.’ ”

“ In fact all the time I was at Chicago the papers teemed with singular elegancies,—the concluding leading article in the leading journal being headed ‘ Good-bye, old Dufferin.’ Another paper devoted two of its columns to a description of an interview between one of its reporters and myself, in which I was described as sitting in a silk dressing-gown, sucking sugar and water through a straw, while I communicated to my interlocutor—whom I always addressed as ‘ old fellow,’—various State secrets and a minute detail of my private affairs ; though it is needless to say the author of the narrative had never been within a hundred yards of me. . . .

“ From Chicago we went to Detroit, a most attractive and flourishing town on the river St. Clair, which connects the Upper with the Lower Lakes. Here another public reception had been prepared for me, but arranged with much better taste, and a most picturesque combination of military and civic display, accompanied, however, with the usual speech-making.

“ From Detroit I crossed over into my own Canada and spent the next four or five weeks in going from town to town, and through the various villages and hamlets of Ontario.

“ Nothing could have been more brilliant and gratifying than the reception I everywhere met with. The whole population turned out to meet me, and the streets of every little town were gay with triumphal arches, banners, flags, and every kind of loyal emblem and device. The only drawback to our comfort was the infinite number of addresses which I had to respond to, extempore. Sometimes I had to make as many as ten speeches in a day, and as I knew they were all to appear in the paper and would be closely read throughout the Dominion, I was forced to make the one as different from the other as possible, though always speaking from the same text. With these addresses were mingled luncheons, dinners, evening receptions, fireworks, and picnics, so that at last I scarcely knew whether I was not myself one of the crackers or Catherine-wheels, being let off for the delectation of the people.

“ The enclosed specimen of one of my replies will give

you a notion of what the whole thing was like, as well as of the ingenuity displayed in designing the triumphal arches under which we passed. But perhaps the prettiest compliment paid me was at a place called Cobourg under the auspices of a joint Canadian and American Committee. In the morning I had been taken a beautiful expedition up Rice Lake,—so called from the wild rice it produces upon which the Indians feed,—eventually arriving at a great iron mine now worked by an American company. This was a most singular sight. Imagine, not a dark shaft descending into invisible space, but an enormous round hole dug out of the earth a good deal bigger than the dome of St. Paul's, at the bottom of which the men at work looked like pigmies, the whole rock upon which they were hammering and picking being solid ore. Previous to our arrival they had bored with a steam drill—which is a most curious instrument—some fifty or sixty 'shots' as they are technically termed, *i.e.* deep holes in the rock, which are then filled with gunpowder, and exploded. All the miners having been retired from the cavity, these blasts were fired off in succession by way of a salute. The honour was not without its dangers, as huge fragments of rock were tossed into the air a considerable distance beyond us.

"Returning to our steamer we found a long barge lashed alongside completely embowered with branches of fir trees, underneath whose shade was spread a sumptuous luncheon. Cleopatra on the Cydnus could not have held a candle to the sylvan splendours of this *fête*. We did not reach home till nine, and sat down to dinner at ten, and it was here my kind hosts had displayed their greatest ingenuity,—for on the doors of the banquet-room being thrown open, I discovered that the dinner-table had been fashioned to imitate the deck of a vessel, the two central pillars supporting the roof representing the masts, duly fitted with booms, stays, saddles, sheets, and the regular rigging of a ship. The further end or bows were decorated with a bow-sprit, while the square stern served as the place of honour into which Lady Dufferin and I were inducted. The flagstaff of the vessel was furnished with an ensign, upon which were inscribed the letters 'FOAM.' After dinner they drank my health, and luckily the president having made an allusion to the ladies as the chief organizers of the banquet, and their wish to detain me, I was enabled to allude very appropriately to Ulysses and the Syrens, etc., etc.

"Another rather striking scene occurred when we visited an Indian settlement. When the Canadian government advances into an Indian territory, its first act is to 'extinguish' the Indian title by making a treaty with the tribe, whom they very properly regard as having a legal interest in the soil. Under these treaties two things are secured to the red man. On the one hand a regular annuity proportioned to the number of the band, and on the other a limited area called a 'reserve,' which if cultivated properly would be more than sufficient to maintain the families located upon it. Their cultivation, however, is very miserable, and even the best of them, I fear, are but an indolent though a docile and well-conducted fraternity.

"As usual they had spread arches along the route by which we were to approach, and had prepared a really very picturesque bower, or rather hall, Indian fashion, for the scene of our 'pow-wow,' or interview with the chiefs. This particular community consisted of the Six Nation Indians, that is to say, the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and Tuscaroras. As we neared the entrance of this green tabernacle, between whose leafy arches the sunshine descended in a rain of silver, a number of Indian girls stepped forward and began strewing flowers along our path. We were then conveyed to a dais at the upper end of the harbour, around whose steps were congregated the various chiefs with the emblems of their authority. An interpreter then stepped forward, while the head of the community addressed me in his mellifluous language. I did my best to make a fit reply, of which I send you a copy.

"Another pretty sight was our arrival at the various little maritime towns on the Lakes or on the St. Lawrence, for here we were invariably met either by a procession of three-storied steamers decorated with flags, flowers, garlands, and greenery, or a mosquito fleet of innumerable little boats with hundreds of little flags and pennons fluttering in the wind. I never have seen anywhere in the world so pretty a display of this kind as we encountered at several places on the St. Lawrence.

"At last we reached Toronto, which we fairly considered as the termination of our progress. Here I was entertained by the local club in a way peculiarly gratifying, for all the chief members of the two great political parties into which the country is divided combined to make me welcome. I

have already sent you a copy of the speech I made at the dinner they gave me, and it together with what I have now written will have given you a pretty complete, though I fear wearisome, *aperçu* of our entire journey."

The Toronto speech, to which allusion is made at the end of this letter, is remarkably characteristic of Lord Dufferin's manner and temperament, reflecting, as do his letters, the vivid impressions made upon him by the aspect of the country that he had traversed, by the signs and tokens of wide prosperity, and of the people's loyalty to the British sovereignty.

"Memory itself scarcely suffices to reflect the shifting vision of mountain, wood and water, inland seas and silver rolling rivers, golden corn lands and busy prosperous towns, through which we have held our way; but though the mind's eye fail ever again to readjust the dazzling panorama, as long as life endures not a single echo of the universal greeting with which we have been welcomed will be hushed within our hearts. . . .

"I cannot help thinking that, quite apart from the advantage to myself, my yearly journeys through the Provinces will have been of public benefit, as exemplifying with what spontaneous, unconcerted unanimity of language the entire Dominion has declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in its connexion with the mother country, and in the well-ordered freedom of a constitutional monarchy. And, gentlemen, it is this very combination of sentiments which appears to me so wholesome and satisfactory. Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England. . . .

"At this moment not a shilling of British money finds its way to Canada, the interference of the Home government with the domestic affairs of the Dominion has ceased, while the imperial relations between the two countries are regulated by a spirit of such mutual deference, forbearance, and moderation as reflects the greatest credit upon the statesmen of both. Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those

earlier days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage; that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the empire."

These samples may suffice to illustrate the sentiment and sonorous quality of the speech. In England we are accustomed to a calmer style of oratory, so that the high rhetorical note upon which Lord Dufferin pitched his Toronto address may not altogether accord with the dispassionate feelings of those who read it long afterwards; and there may be a tone of lavish exuberance, a strain of excess, in these felicitations. Nevertheless the speech not only produced a great effect in Canada, but it caught the ear and struck the mind of Englishmen, among whom it was praised by good judges.

"It attracted great attention in Canada, the United States, and in Britain. It fell like a revelation upon the ear of the British people, who were astonished to find themselves in possession of so magnificent a dominion, inhabited by so loyal and prosperous a people. Never before had the grand resources of Canada been so graphically or so truthfully described, never before had the love of its people for the 'Old Flag' been so warmly vindicated. The leading journals of England, headed by the *London Times*, made it a text for able discourses on the value of the Dominion to the Empire, and this single speech doubtless did more to elevate Canada in the European mind than any utterance or act of all the rulers she had ever welcomed to her shores." *

The *London Spectator* concluded a most eulogistic article with a passage that may be quoted because it goes far to explain and justify the applause, not un-mixed with surprise, with which Lord Dufferin's speech

* Leggo, "Lord Dufferin's Administration in Canada."

was received in two continents. His eloquence unexpectedly placed readers and hearers at a point of view from which it spread out before them a broad landscape, the vision of a world hitherto undiscovered politically. And in the midst of the cautious, sober, circum-spect utterances of politicians who weighed their words and reserved their thoughts, it filled them with fresh ideas, and inspired them with the pride of great possessions.

“ We have fallen upon a structure of dry political conscientiousness, where there is a real break of continuity between the aims of the statesmen and the understanding of the people. Politics have lost their glow and spring, while they have gained in purity and disinterestedness. It is to powers such as Lord Dufferin has shown in his brilliant Toronto speech that we look for the restoration of that glow. It is to that mixture of Irish genius and English sagacity, of Irish playfulness and English humour, of Irish buoyancy and English phlegm, of Irish pathos and English pride, and to that confidence in the life of British institutions, and the steadfastness of the British race to which these qualities help to give so brilliant an expression, that we hope to owe a restoration of what we may call the imaginative school of politics, without any loss of that practical conscientiousness and painstaking industry, in the absence of which even the most imaginative statesmen can give us nothing but brilliant and dazzling displays of rhetorical fire.” *

Lord Russell wrote to Lord Dufferin that he could not refrain from expressing to him the delight with which he had read his speech. The Duke of Argyll felt in reading it “ a lump in my throat and a fine Argyllshire rain in my eyes.” Lord Carnarvon wrote that “ nothing could be more graceful, felicitous, or politic. . . . In that speech which you made to the Toronto Club you have added a grace and a felicity of expression which will greatly enhance the wise and conciliatory thoughts which underlie it ; ” while several other corre-

* *The Spectator*, September 26, 1874.

spondents, including Alfred Tennyson, sent him words of praise that were evidently spontaneous and sincere. From New York he received a letter declaring, on good authority, that his Toronto address had made a great impression throughout the Union. When, some three weeks later, Lord and Lady Dufferin appeared as visitors in the States, he was welcomed at a dinner arranged for him by some of the leading men; and they were everywhere received with marked cordiality.

Here is a lively sketch of his adventures on American soil, taken from a letter to the Duchess of Argyll.

November 18, 1874, Ottawa.—"We have just returned here after a visit to New York and Boston. The three weeks' holiday has done us both good, and I can scarcely describe how we appreciated the joy of looking in at the shop windows, seeing the carriages flash by, hearing the thunder of the streets, and having our toes trod on by the passengers on the pavement. After the solitude, desolation, and incompleteness of Ottawa the sights and sounds of city life were very exhilarating.

"Before starting I had received a printed invitation to dinner subscribed by a certain number of distinguished New Yorkers, and this was my first social gaiety. The entertainment was at Delmonico's, and about thirty people sat down to table. Mr. Astor was in the chair, and Mr. Belmont on the other side. There were no speeches, but the festivity was prolonged, notwithstanding, from half-past seven to eleven o'clock, which I found a little long, in spite of my having a talkative and agreeable neighbour. The next night I attended another dinner, though a smaller one, of the same description, organized by an ex-Consul-General I had known in Syria. Here again I was fortunate in having a lively companion to mitigate the tedium of a feast ungraced by ladies, and too large for general conversation, which is the only thing which renders a man's dinner tolerable. My friend's name was Cox, but he is known throughout the States as 'Sunset Cox,' from a florid description he gave in a book of travels of a sunset seen in Rome. He is a member of Parliament, and noted for his good nature, jokes, and liveliness. Two or three days later I was honoured with a further entertainment in the shape of a breakfast, at which the editors of some of the principal

papers assisted, including Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hurlbert, and some others. There were also present Bret Harte, Mr. Hay, and Mr. Tilden, who has just been elected Governor of the State of New York.

"We were very merry, and I really enjoyed myself, for I always think that breakfast is the pleasantest meal of the day. I feel full of hope as I tap my egg; my illusions in regard to my fellow-creatures have re-shaped themselves during the night; and I again believe in the goodness of men and women; but by dinner, nay luncheon time, this frame of mind is shattered and the world is again a blank. Besides these more public festivities, we were invited to several private dinners, all of which were very pleasant, very much like a London dinner, and still more like each other; in fact, monotony is the incubus of this continent, and it especially haunts the social life of New York . . .

"As you may suppose, we did not neglect the theatres, but we only witnessed one genuine American play. It was very amusing, and the principal character well acted, typifying the native speculator who ruins himself and his friends several times over by his magnificent operations. The first act concluded with the blowing up of a river steamer in which everybody had sunk their fortunes. Next we had a seduction, and the young lady transformed from the needy daughter of a settler into a gaily dressed female log-roller at Washington. She eventually reappears in a ball-dress, shoots her lover in her father's drawing-room, and is then acquitted by a sympathizing jury. The parts of the play which told upon the audience with unfailing success were jocose allusions to the corruption of the Senators and members of Congress! . . . Another thing I did was to attend a democratic public meeting in Tammany Hall. Nothing could be duller than the whole affair. Each orator looked and spoke like the other, and there was not a gleam of fun or humour in a single one of their discourses. The room was an exceedingly bad one for hearing, but the audience was quiet and patient. . . .

"The only piece of Yankee sharpness I observed was the following,—a horse had dropped down dead in the street,—the afternoon was too far advanced to admit of its removal that evening. Five minutes afterwards the carcase was completely plastered over with electioneering placards.

"Though I was rather loath to leave New York I determined to make an effort to see Washington, so starting one

night after dinner I arrived there at six the next morning. I had not slept much while the train was in motion, and had arranged to have a couple of hours' snooze in my berth at the station, but Sir Edward Thornton had good-naturedly come down to meet me, so I was forced to tumble out and go with him to his house. After a cup of tea he took me all over the new embassy, which has just been built under his superintendence. It is a fine house in a good situation, and the accommodation arranged with great judgment. We then returned to breakfast and proceeded to see the sights, the Capitol, the Supreme Court, the Library, etc. Architecturally the Capitol is full of faults, but its mass, its material, and its situation are imposing, and the marble façades of the two wings are very beautiful ; but the cupola is imposed upon a base that spreads too far on either side, so that it looks like a dish-cover on a dining-table. I had an interview with Mr. Fish, the Secretary of State, who was civil enough, and I then paid my respects to the President, who received me with great courtesy, and was far more ready to talk than I had been led to expect. We then took a ride, and by three o'clock in the afternoon I was on my way to Baltimore.

"At Baltimore I was to have been invited to dinner, but by some misunderstanding the plan miscarried, and so I missed seeing anything of Baltimore society, which I am told is remarkably pleasant, with a peculiar 'cachet' of its own. Instead I had to content myself with the play, which was interesting, as we were given a drama laid during the time of the recent American War, with Stonewall Jackson and Federal and Confederate officers for the chief performers. The next morning I returned to New York.

"The only other remarkable thing I saw there was the Normal school, a magnificent institution. We went to the place at a little before nine o'clock in the morning in order to see the pupils assemble. We were taken into a very large room with galleries running round it,—and placed upon a dais. A little bell was rung, a piano struck up, and in three minutes and a half 1100 young women between 14 and 19 or 20 had taken their seats at their desks. . . .

"We then repaired to a 'Common' school. There was nothing very special in the boys' and girls' classes, but the 'Infant' department was wonderfully amusing. As at the former place we were taken into a big room, and placed upon an estrade ; again the bell was rung, the piano struck

up, and the little brats began to enter; but instead of advancing rapidly, their object seemed to be to move as slowly as possible, and to stick as close upon one another's heels at they could manage, conducting their performances with the most ludicrous gravity. When at last they were all seated—and there must have been six or seven hundred of them present—a wooden wall, or rather a sliding partition at the further end of the room, was drawn aside, and to our great surprise another host of five or six hundred urchins, all of them being between four and seven, was revealed, seated upon benches that ascended to the ceiling. The silence was so profound that you might have heard a pin drop. Suddenly the teacher made some sign, and then 1400 creatures, who had kept their eyes intently fixed upon hers, at once made a simultaneous *face*; the effect was too ludicrous. You did not exactly know what had happened, but it felt as though there had been a flash of summer lightning. At another sign they began clapping their cheeks and then their hands,—you might have heard the noise a mile off—while the crowded area looked like a rippling ocean. Lastly, they sang ‘Twinkle, Twinkle, little Star,’ snapping their fingers during the chorus until you thought you saw the golden hosts of heaven shaking in the firmament.

“This concluded our New York sight-seeing, although I ought to have mentioned going to the races, which were not interesting, and a visit we paid to Washington Irving’s little cottage on the banks of the Hudson.

“In returning we went round by Boston. Luckily I arrived on the monthly Saturday on which the literary world of New England dine together at a club. Longfellow was my host, and we sat down at half-past two in the afternoon. I found myself between Longfellow and Wendell Holmes, and opposite to Lowell, Emerson, and the two Danas. It was very pleasant, and we did not break up until half-past seven. A visit to Bunker’s Hill, and a drive to the college and round the environs completed our Boston dissipation. The railway journey home to Montreal led through the Green Mountains, and was very pretty. . . .

“I am reading Charles Greville’s book. It is wonderfully interesting, but I don’t think anybody has a right to publish to the world such private matters as those he has recorded: there are certain physical and mental infirmities common to humanity, which should be allowed to remain

unknown, and it was certainly a scandalous thing of him sending for George the Fourth's servant and cross-examining him about his master's private habits, with a view to proclaiming them in a book. A more masculine nature, moreover, would have been more tender and delicate in the portraiture of the women of his story.

"Yesterday I was playing after sunset at lawn-tennis in my shirt-sleeves! Pretty well for the middle of a Canadian November, but to-day the snow has fallen and our winter has begun. Like the bears we also shall hibernate, and it will be many a week therefore before any event is likely to justify me in troubling you with another letter."

Such a friendly reception on republican territory of the Canadian Governor General had an indubitable value; and the pleasant hospitality of the Americans was a genuine tribute to Lord Dufferin's social and literary reputation. Yet it is no strange thing to a shrewd Irishman that festive cordiality in private intercourse may co-exist with a very different temper in the sphere of political dealings; and with the United States there was serious business just then on hand. When in 1874 Lord Carnarvon had assumed charge of the British Colonial Office, Lord Dufferin wrote to him that although he had every reason for extremely regretting the withdrawal of Lord Kimberley, he reckoned it a most fortunate chance that had replaced the outgoing Secretary by so old a personal friend. Two topics only, he went on to say, required at that moment the particular attention of the Colonial Office. One was the proposed substitution of a Reciprocity treaty with the United States for Canada's Fishery claims. Secondly came the grievances of British Columbia in regard to the non-fulfilment of the agreement to construct the Pacific Railway.

Some account of the Reciprocity question, although the negotiations failed eventually, may still be interesting, so far as they illustrate the political and commercial difficulties that were found inseparable from a project of establishing freedom of trade in the commodities which two adjacent countries might naturally

exchange. And a few preliminary observations on the history of treaty-making between the British and North American governments may not be out of place.

The relations between Canada and the United States have inevitably been affected, though in a rapidly diminishing degree, by the events and causes which led, in the eighteenth century, to the disruption and division of the vast territories possessed by the English-speaking population of North America. The tradition of jealousy and hostilities between those who adhered to the English Crown, and those who violently broke off from the sovereignty, had been prolonged by the war of 1812-14, in which the Canadians successfully resisted incursions from the States. Its gradual disappearance in the course of succeeding years was retarded by disputes over boundaries and limits, on land and sea, which had been left, like ragged edges on a cloth that had been torn asunder, to be patched up by negociators and arbitrators in quieter times. The British government, incessantly occupied by foreign affairs all the world over, and compelled to take a comprehensive view of its external policy, has naturally been always desirous of conciliating a Republic whose weight in the balance of the world's Great Powers is increasing so rapidly; and British statesmen have consequently found it necessary to appeal to the loyalty of Canada for concessions in questions which concerned the peace of the whole empire. It has been no less natural that these concessions should have been sometimes acquiesced in reluctantly; not without protest against the subordination of the interests of the Colony to Imperial exigencies. All nations are peculiarly sensitive in regard to their frontiers, and the amputation of territory by demarcation of fresh boundaries may heal old sores, but for the moment it is a painful process. By the treaty signed at Versailles in 1783, England made over to the United States certain extensive regions to which Canada had some claim. The Ashburton treaty of 1842 ratified a later cession; another tract of land was awarded in 1846; and in 1871

the island of San Juan was transferred to the United States under the arbitration of the German emperor. Lastly, two years before Lord Dufferin took office, the Washington treaty between Great Britain and the United States had been concluded upon terms and in circumstances that to some extent disappointed the Dominion government.

In 1854 a convention had been settled that established free trade in certain important products between the two adjacent countries ; but in 1865 the resentment felt by the people of the United States at the sympathy for secession that had been shown in England during the war, and at some depredations across the border made by refugee Southerners in Canada, provoked the United States government to exercise their right of terminating this arrangement ; nor could they afterwards be induced to revive it. Moreover, when, under the Washington Treaty of 1871, the question of the indemnity payable by Great Britain for damages done by the *Alabama* cruiser was referred to arbitration, it was thought in Canada that the anxiety of our ministry to finish this business amicably had led them to compound too easily with the United States on some disputed colonial claims. An important controversy, of long standing, regarding the respective fishery rights of Canada and the United States on their eastern coasts, had been referred to a special commission for adjudgment of the compensation due to Canada. But the sum awarded might be inadequate, for the Canadians had not been lucky in their dealings with the United States ; so the Dominion ministry, being Free Traders, decidedly preferred making fresh overtures for the negotiation of a new Reciprocity treaty with the United States which might cover and dispose of all outstanding claims. And since they had information leading them to believe that these overtures would be entertained, they asked for and obtained from the British government instructions to the British ambassador at Washington to bring the proposal before the United States government, with the

assistance of a representative from Canada; on the understanding that the step was taken entirely at the instance and on the responsibility of the Colony.

When the negotiators met at Washington, there ensued a long and complicated discussion, not always conducted in a friendly spirit, and Lord Dufferin had some trouble in his endeavours to advise and assist the Canadians in a business which touched commercial interests in Great Britain as well as in America. At Chicago he had been invited to visit the Board of Trade, where he understood that some of the leading commercial men would be introduced to him. He found "an enormous chamber crammed full of people, who, I was told, would feel very much aggrieved unless I made them a speech on Free Trade;" and in a summary of his impromptu oration that was telegraphed to England from New York, he found himself reported as saying that Great Britain had been pressing for the treaty, whereas the British ministry had only moved on the distinct understanding that Canada was responsible for the initiative. Then the British press discerned in the overture an inclination of Canada toward absorption in the United States; a construction that was exceedingly disagreeable to the Dominion, and which Lord Dufferin, writing to Lord Carnarvon, denounced as the sheerest nonsense, observing that a ministry suspected of tendencies toward annexation, or even to independence, would not live a day in Canada. He referred in this letter to articles against himself written in London newspapers on the strength of the incorrect rumours of his Chicago speech that went home, where he was also credited with some rather maladroit diplomacy that had been exhibited by inexperienced Canadian representatives in dealing with the remarkably acute bargainers at Washington. A colonial Governor, Lord Dufferin remarked, is "like a man riding two horses at once in a circus. No matter how completely he may have one of them under control, the other will be sure to play him some unhandsome trick by flying off at a tangent on the

scare of some false rumour or extraneous hallucination."

Moreover, while our ambassador at Washington was exerting himself in Canadian interests, the Dominion ministry were doubting whether their case was safe in his hands. Nor was there always entire concordance at Washington between the Canadian and the British negotiators as to manners and methods of diplomacy. And on the subject of Free Trade with the United States it soon appeared that even in Canada public opinion was not unanimous; for although the Dominion ministry were confident of carrying a Free Trade measure by a large majority, the manufacturers looked coldly on a project that would expose their nascent industries to competition with the powerful capital and enterprise of the United States. Also, there was a strong party in the States favouring the policy of protection,* supported by a lingering resentment against Great Britain and Canada on account of their attitude during the war of Secession, and encouraged by the belief that a Reciprocity treaty was so essential to the prosperity of Canada that to stand out against it would tend to weaken her political independence. During the earlier part of the proceedings at Washington our Colonial Office appears to have indulged the hope of success in obtaining a fresh treaty. But as the executive government of the United States had their own difficulties with the Senate, the language of the Secretary (Mr. Fish) became more and more reserved, and tinged with a certain asperity in personal discussions. The proposal in the draft treaty, that the

* " 'What possible good,' said a United States statesman, 'can we get from a treaty with Canada? Under the last treaty we took from you everything you had to sell, and you took nothing from us.' My reply was to show from official returns, and beyond the shadow of a doubt, that from 1820 to 1854 the British provinces had bought from the United States merchandise and produce of over 150 millions of dollars in excess of what the United States had bought from them, or that there was always a large annual balance of trade against Canada. The impression in the United States was that traffic with Canada was utterly unprofitable to the Republic " (Speech at Ottawa by Hon. George Browne).

waterway of the St. Lawrence should be improved, and that the navigation of the lakes and the connecting canals should be thrown open on equal terms to both countries, was opposed on the ground that it would give Canadian shipping an advantage in the carrying trade. Upon these points and on the clauses touching the coasting trade there was sharp controversy, particularly regarding the definition and clear allotment of international partnership in water property and usage, which provide a naturally fluid and shifting ground of debate.

After many conferences between Mr. Fish on the one side and the British and Canadian negotiators on the other, in which the United States Secretary displayed little desire to accommodate differences, or to find a way toward amicable conclusions, they at length settled a draft treaty which was submitted to the Senate at Washington. This was in June 1875; but the Senate postponed consideration of the proposals until the December session, when they decided almost unanimously that the treaty's ratification would be inexpedient. So ended a long and intricate negotiation, with the result of convincing those who initiated it that there had been from the first no serious intention on the part of the United States to concede any reciprocal terms that Canada could accept. In the Canadian Parliament it produced some cavils on the whole business, which had been entered upon with sanguine anticipations among those who promoted it, and which closed with a somewhat abrupt and disappointing termination. It is certainly unfortunate that in negotiating Canada's conventions with the United States—almost the only sovereign right that is in practice still exercised—the intervention of Great Britain should have frequently operated rather to strain than to strengthen the single important tie that still binds the colony to the metropolitan State.

When, in 1875, the Town Council of Quebec began to

demolish the old town walls, Lord Dufferin interposed with an effectual protest.

"Quebec" (he said in a speech to the citizens) "is the one city on this continent which preserves the romantic characteristics of its early origin, a city whose picturesque architecture and war-scathed environments present a spectacle unlike any other which is to be found between Cape Horn and the North Pole."

It is a singular fact, if Lord Dufferin's statement is accurate, that nowhere else in South or North America should the old stone ramparts of any town have been preserved; but at any rate the Governor General's appeal to the people of Quebec, put in this striking way, was successful. Instead of demolishing the walls, the Town Council made a liberal grant of money toward their maintenance and restoration: they were pierced by gates, flanked with ornamental towers, and a path-way upon them was carried round the whole *enceinte*. The Canadian government added a subsidy; and Lord Dufferin spared no exertions to obtain assistance from England, representing that on grounds of political expediency, as well as of historic interest, the old French capital of the Dominion, the scene of a famous military exploit, had claims upon the generosity of the nation. The British House of Commons readily contributed; and Her Majesty the Queen presented her good city of Quebec with one of the new gateways, in memory of her father, the Duke of Kent, who resided for some years in Canada.

A singular question that came before Lord Dufferin in 1874 may be worth mentioning briefly, as an example of the rough, haphazard treatment of outlying landed property that formerly prevailed, and that has more than once bequeathed awkward problems for the solution of later administrations.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century a lottery was held in London for the purpose of disposing of a

large portion of Prince Edward's Island in lots. Certain conditions connected with each lot were not always fulfilled by the purchasers, who seem to have treated negligently properties which they had got very easily. The conditions of settlement were, in fact, disregarded both by owners and tenants ; but the great evil in the eyes of the islanders was that of absentee proprietorship. Most of the colonists held their farms as tenants of landlords who lived in England and knew little of Prince Edward's Island ; the rents were not paid, were sometimes unpayable ; so that, after spending the best part of his life in trying to improve a piece of land, a tenant might be threatened with ejection for arrears. Out of this state of things arose quarrels and confusion, until after various attempts to adjust the grievances of the tenants and the rights of the landlords, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1860 to investigate the whole matter. Their report, published in 1861, strongly condemned the way in which the land had been originally granted away, and recommended as the only just and satisfactory solution the application of the Land Purchase Act to all the great absentee holdings.

The Commissioners recommended that the Home government should guarantee a loan of £100,000 for buying up the estates of absentee proprietors ; but the guarantee was refused ; and the agitation, with all the acrimony of agrarian disputes, went on until in 1874 Lord Dufferin confirmed an act of the Canadian Legislature, which enforced compulsory purchase, at prices to be fixed by three Commissioners. Mr. Hugh Childers was their chairman, and a final settlement was thus concluded in 1875.

On May 11, 1875, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa for a short holiday in England and Ireland. They were warmly received on their arrival in London ; and the Canada Club invited Lord Dufferin to a banquet, where Canadians and Englishmen of distinction met to honour and acknowledge the services of a Governor General

who by his acts and words had already done much to inspirit and fortify on both sides of the Atlantic the common feeling of Imperial unity.

"If" (Lord Dufferin said in the course of his speech) "there is one especial message which a person in my situation is bound to transmit from the Canadian to the English people, it is this—that they desire to maintain intact and unimpaired their connexion with this country, that they cherish an ineradicable conviction of the value of the political system under which they live, and are determined to preserve uncontaminated all the traditional characteristics of England's prosperous policy."

At Clandeboye, where they were received by a course of welcomers and a profusion of banners, an address was presented by the tenantry, to which Lord Dufferin replied—

"Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to the present occasion that I should tell you that amongst the many pleasures I have had in administering the affairs of Canada's government, and in visiting its various districts, few have been greater than that which I have experienced from meeting in almost every part of the country Irishmen from different parts of Ireland, all of them united by common sympathy of loyalty to the Queen, all of them animated by a spirit of happiness and contentment, and all of them engaged in a prosperous and fortunate career."

Lord and Lady Dufferin were again at Ottawa by October. A Canadian winter, like a summer in India, is the season of general immobility, suspending travel; when men work at home, fall back on their resources for occupation, or take stock of what may have been accomplished.

Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Dorothy Nevill—

December 1875.—"We are in the midst of our winter, with the thermometer 20° below zero, and everything bound in ice, but we regard this as a great comfort instead of a hardship,—the intermediate period of slush between

autumn and the *bonâ fide* cold weather being the really intolerable time. . . .

"My principal indoors amusements are sketching and painting. I have set seriously to work to acquire something of an artist's touch both with pencil and brush, for I know I have an eye both for form and colour, and if I can once master the mechanical facility, I am in hopes to throw off sketches of scenes and people sufficiently like to be pleasant reminiscences. . . . I am determined seriously to devote as much of my spare time to drawing as I possibly can,—to make it in fact the solace of my old age. In three years' time I ought I think to become a respectable amateur."

June 1876.—"You will have seen that they have made me a G.C.M.G. This will be the third star and ribband I have got before reaching fifty,—I who have done so little to deserve any one of them,—while many a far better fellow has slaved in his country's service without getting a tithe of the recognition it has been my luck to receive. In one respect alone, but only in one, do I feel I have earned a right to anything, namely, by having a very sincere desire to do my duty, and feeling a most honest love for dear old England."

SECTION III.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

MEANWHILE, the delay in the construction, according to agreement, of the Pacific Railway had been producing irritation and disappointment. The Dominion government stood pledged to begin the work in two years and complete it in ten ; and this was the material consideration upon which British Columbia had joined the Confederation in 1871, but in the next four years nothing beyond surveys had been done. When Mr. Mackenzie succeeded to the Canadian premiership, the Columbians became uneasy as to the security of their guarantee, the more so because Mr. Mackenzie, before taking office, had made a statement of his railway

policy which was not calculated to remove their misgivings. The new ministry found themselves compelled, by the demonstrations of impatience in British Columbia, to take up the whole question afresh, and it soon appeared that a fulfilment of the pledge to complete the through line to the Pacific shores within the period originally specified, was physically impossible. Mr. Mackenzie therefore modified the original scheme, and proposed to utilize, instead of a continuous line of railway, the long extents of water communications provided by the rivers; the land portage between the chain of navigable streams and lakes being supplied by sections of railway, so laid that they might eventually be linked up into a complete system. To this somewhat dilatory alternative the Columbians naturally demurred. Their province then had a white population of less than 9000, to almost all of whom the railway works and the prospect of communication with the eastern provinces would bring certain and considerable profit. They appealed, by delegation, to the Colonial Office; and in June 1874 Lord Carnarvon's offer to fix the terms that in his opinion might be reasonably offered to Columbia, was accepted. Unluckily his decision was varied in some particulars by the Bill which the Dominion ministry introduced to give it legislative sanction; and the dispute was revived in full force by a formal remonstrance from British Columbia against any breach of the "Carnarvon terms." The Dominion ministry had in fact pledged themselves, by original miscalculations of time and cost, to an undertaking that involved onerous and extravagant outlay upon an ill-drawn scheme; and in their attempts to escape from this predicament some ambiguous language suggested a suspicion that they were backing out of a formal bargain. But the British Columbians were insisting, beyond reason, on specific performance; and threatening to withdraw from the Confederation if the terms were evaded. Sharp language and recriminations were flying about, and Lord Dufferin's position as moderator between two angry and distrustful parties was by

no means pleasant. Lord Carnarvon's arbitration, proffered in good will and good faith, had brought the Colonial Office within range of the cross-firing, which might be diverted from the Canadian ministry by spirited protest against dictation from England. Some hasty remarks made in this tone by Mr. Mackenzie obliged Lord Dufferin to remind him that Lord Carnarvon—

"is the official representative and spokesman of the Power upon whom Canada is dependent for her nationality, her autonomy, and her protection both by sea and by land, and for whose sake, though this view of the case seems seldom to be considered on this side of the Atlantic, England is content to run perpetual risks, and to submit to what many consider humiliating, and all admit to be mortifying sacrifices. It is true the mother country is amply repaid by seeing such a community as that of the Dominion embarked in so prosperous a career, and upholding in this continent the credit of her own political traditions."

All this incessant friction rendered disputants on both sides hot, sore, and intemperate; and the correspondence proves that the Governor General, by interviews, innumerable letters of advice and warning, by personal influence and authoritative intimations, spared no pains in pouring oil on troubled waters.

An extract from one of his letters to the Canadian premier gives his view of the situation—

"In conclusion, allow me to entreat you in the most earnest language to take any reasonable risk for the sake of preserving intact the Confederation of Canada. Although, perhaps, from some points of view, her union with British Columbia may have been premature, the disintegration of the Dominion could not fail to be regarded, whether justly or unjustly, as the result of unsuccessful statesmanship, and as the failure of the political party under whose auspices such a catastrophe occurred. Very unfairly, perhaps, it will not be the people who lit the torch, but those who held it whose fingers will be burnt. The province itself is well worth retaining, and will eventually

prove a most desirable accession to our strength and importance. Her resources will be found to be very considerable when once there is a population to develop them. The exclusion of Canada from the western seaboard, and from all trade with the Pacific ports, would ere long be felt as a most undesirable restriction, and so considerable a reduction of her 'imperium' would infallibly damage her prestige and sensibly wound the honest pride of every individual citizen."

The provincial government of British Columbia was now in open conflict with the Dominion government, rejecting proposals and reiterating demands. Orders in Council and Minutes were exchanged between the two governments like salvos from hostile batteries; until it became clear to Lord Dufferin that his presence in British Columbia, to inquire personally into local details, and to try the effect of meeting and speaking with the local leaders, would be the best service he could render to all parties.

On July 31, 1876, therefore, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa for British Columbia *via* Chicago and San Francisco, took ship in a British war-vessel, and landed at Esquimaux, the naval station close to Victoria on Vancouver Island, in the middle of August. A grand procession for their entry into the Columbian capital had been organized; but at one point in the route some extreme malcontents had set up an arch bearing the inscription—"The Carnarvon Terms or Separation." "Change one letter in the last word, making it Reparation, and I will pass under it, otherwise not," said the Governor General; and as the change was not made he went round the arch. Separatist demonstrations, though not yet serious, were evidently in the air; for the isolation of Columbia, peopled mainly by direct emigration from England, had kept this remote province dissociated from the rest of the Dominion, and very sensitive in regard to the action of the government at Ottawa. The press of San Francisco, where the prospect of a rival Canadian port, with a Canadian railway from

the Atlantic, was not attractive, lent a hand toward stirring up strife. Addresses, memorials, demands by deputations for interviews, poured in upon the Governor General.

"For the next week" (he wrote to Lord Carnarvon) "I was occupied in receiving visits from every soul in the place. I began at nine o'clock in the morning, and never left my room till seven in the evening—the whole intermediate ten hours being passed in listening to the same stories, to abuse of Canada and the Canadian premiers, and the absolute necessity of bringing the Pacific Railway *via* Bute inlet to Esquimault, the project which had been defeated in the Canadian Parliament when Mr. Mackenzie endeavoured to legislate for it."

Lord Dufferin, besieged and encompassed, made the tactical dispositions that he had often found effective in colonial campaigns. "Receptions and At Homes, dinner-parties and regattas, garden-parties and balls, afforded ample opportunities of meeting all grades of society and proffering to each its appropriate meed of recognition." After ten agitated days and nights the party found a refuge on board their vessel from social and political functions, explored the coast, examined inlets and possible locations for the railway terminus, made excursions inland, received Indian and Chinese addresses, and returned to Victoria. Here Lord Dufferin delivered, before his departure, a speech in which he recapitulated all the points in dispute, discussed the arguments on each side, the misstatements and miscalculations, the needs and grievances, defended the Dominion government and the Colonial Secretary, admonished Columbia against insistence upon impracticable claims, and warned the Victorians that by an open quarrel with Canada their city might be left out of the railway system, which would find its terminus elsewhere. The "Great Columbian speech," as it is known in the annals of Lord Dufferin's administration, was certainly a most comprehensive and elaborate review,

remarkable for the discretion of its tone and the masterly survey of intricate questions. As usual with Lord Dufferin, it was illustrated by passages that show an intense delight in picturesque scenery—

“I may frankly tell you that I think British Columbia a glorious province—a province which Canada should be proud to possess, and whose association with the Dominion she ought to regard as the crowning triumph of federation. Such a spectacle as its coast-line presents is not to be paralleled in any country in the world. Day after day, for a whole week, in a vessel of nearly 2000 tons, we threaded an interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches that wound endlessly in and out of a network of islands, promontories, and peninsulas for thousands of miles, unruffled by the slightest swell from the adjoining ocean, and presenting at every turn an ever-shifting combination of rock, verdure, forest, glacier, and snow-capped mountains of unrivalled grandeur and beauty. When it is remembered that this wonderful system of navigation—equally well adapted to the largest line of battleship and the frailest canoe—fringes the entire seaboard of your province, and communicates at points sometimes more than a hundred miles from the coast with a multitude of valleys stretching eastward into the interior, at the same time that it is furnished with innumerable harbours on either hand, one is lost in admiration at the facilities for inter-communication which are thus provided for the future inhabitants of this wonderful region.”

These *impressions de voyage*, however, were merely illustrations bound up with the substantial text of the discourse. Although Lord Dufferin wrote afterwards of his performance as bearing the traces of the haste and bustle in the midst of which he had conceived it, without time for adequate preparation, it was certainly an important and persuasive review of an entangled controversy—an effective peroration that summed up and concluded the interminable series of debates which, in one form or another, had been carried on during his whole visit to Victoria. It went far toward satisfying those whom he termed “the impulsive portion of the

Victorian citizens ;" it removed several mischievous delusions ; and perceptibly damped the ardour and lowered the tone of those who had thought it worth while to brandish the flag of Separation. Moderate men, who desired some practical composition with Canada, recovered their influence ; and, as Lord Dufferin wrote afterwards—

" even those to whom parts of the speech would naturally be most distasteful, were convinced that it emanated from a person who fully sympathized with their annoyances and disappointments, who was anxious to tell them the exact truth so far as he was able, and who had no dearer object at heart than to forward by every means within his power the reconciliation of the province with the Dominion, under circumstances which should be as favourable as possible to their interests and wishes."

Next day Lord Dufferin set out on his return journey to Ottawa, where he drafted a report of all his proceedings in a despatch to the Colonial Office which covers one hundred and eighty-four pages of manuscript, but which does not appear to have been issued. The speeches, discussions, private and public correspondence, the interviews, debates, and conferences, the travel by sea and land, remain as a monumental record of Lord Dufferin's indefatigable industry, and of the pains and perils that attended the gestation of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They furnish a notable example of the experiences that test the patience, dexterity, and resourcefulness of a Governor General who is charged with the duty of intercepting collisions, softening down animosities, and generally of bringing a loose confederation of rough-hewn provinces to a sense of their common ends and reciprocal interests.

But although Lord Dufferin's exertions prevented an open rupture between British Columbia and the Dominion, and smoothed the way toward reasonable compromise, yet various obstacles, financial and administrative, retarded for some years to come the actual

progress of the undertaking. It was not until 1881 that, after much parliamentary obstruction and sharp debating, the contract for the making of the Pacific Railway was definitely sanctioned by an Act of the Canadian Legislature. Nor was the line opened to Vancouver City * on the Pacific coast until 1887—six years beyond the time originally fixed, but five years in advance of the date on which the charter of the new Company required the work to be completed.

The establishment of a Supreme Court of judicature for the Dominion had been long expected. It was not accomplished without much active exercise by Lord Dufferin of his vocation as intermediary between the Colony and the Crown. The Canadians desired to annul the right of appeal to any English Court from its decisions; the legal authorities in England demurred to any infringement of the established jurisdiction. In the debate over the Bill in the Canadian Parliament, Sir John Macdonald had interposed with the objection that the cutting off of appeals to an English court would be a first step toward the separation of the Dominion from the mother country. Lord Dufferin, writing to the Colonial Secretary on this subject, took another view—

November 11, 1875.—"I do not myself" (he said) "attach weight to this consideration. The ties between the Dominion and Great Britain are of a very different nature, and the more freely and independently the machinery of our government here can be made to act, the less danger of friction or collision. The intervention of the Privy Council in the Guibord case has had a tendency rather to exasperate the French population against England than to cement the connexion, and many contingencies can be conceived of a similar nature."

The remarkable case to which reference is here made exemplifies the religious temperature then prevailing, and also Lord Dufferin's methods in playing his usual part of peace-maker.

* It should be remembered that Vancouver City is not on Vancouver Island, but on the mainland.

Mr. Joseph Guibord, a Roman Catholic, had been excommunicated for joining a Liberal Catholic association. He died in November 1869, but the rites of the Church were refused. Guibord had bought a burial lot in a cemetery at Montreal ; and on his death two friends brought a suit to establish civil rights of interment therein, the body being meanwhile deposited in the vaults of the Protestant graveyard. After five years' litigation the Privy Council affirmed Guibord's right to be buried in his own land, and his body was taken to the Roman Catholic cemetery. There was fierce resistance from a crowd of French Roman Catholics, and the Church dignitaries were deprecating violence in language that was distinctly inflammatory. The Canadian ministers hesitated about employing force, until Lord Dufferin, to whom such emergencies were no great novelty, pressed them to interfere effectively.

" Having witnessed the Belfast riots, where a hundred people were shot and the town in possession of two frantic mobs for a whole week, I am keenly alive to the danger with which this affair is pregnant. The affair discloses a lamentable blot in our constitution as well as in our social organization. There is absolutely no force whatsoever behind the Law. The Militia, at all times a bad instrument for dealing with the populace, are themselves a mob inspired by the same fanatical passions as the rest of the people. What we want is a body like the Irish Constabulary living in barracks secluded from all contact with the population, and disciplined and controlled by the central and not by the subordinate authority."

The whole volunteer force in Montreal and all the police escorted Guibord to his grave ; but the fermentation was serious ; and the ecclesiastics were loud in their protests.

" Luckily " (Lord Dufferin wrote) " I contrived completely to change their tone by sending my secretary down to Montreal to tell them that I had seen the Queen at Inveraray, and that Her Majesty had evinced the greatest

concern in regard to the attitude of her French subjects in Montreal, that while she regretted that anything should have occurred to cause them anxiety or displeasure, she was quite sure she could rely upon their loyalty and the loyalty of those to whom they looked for guidance to prevent so disgraceful an occurrence as insurrection against the law, etc., etc. On hearing this they all set to work to keep things quiet. One old curé positively shed tears when he received the message, and the result was that, in obedience to the commands of their priests, not a Catholic put his nose out of his door on the day of the burial. Nevertheless we had out all the force at our disposal, by way of precaution, but it only amounted to nine hundred men, a body amply sufficient to cause a good many deaths, but neither numerous nor disciplined enough to prevent an outbreak had it been seriously determined upon."

Returning to the question of appellate jurisdiction, Lord Dufferin's views were adopted by the Colonial Office, and the Crown lawyers were induced to waive their objections. The clause in the Act providing that no appeal lie from any judgment of the Supreme Court to a Court of appeal established by the British Parliament, was ultimately accepted by the Home government, though it left untouched Her Majesty's prerogative to admit appeals upon the advice of her Privy Council.

From the end of 1876 no question of capital importance engaged Lord Dufferin's attention, so that he was comparatively free to continue his expeditions into the outlying parts of his jurisdiction. From travel he never rested willingly, nor did any Governor General know better the art of turning these official visitations to practical advantage.

In January 1877, Lord and Lady Dufferin again visited Toronto, where Lord Dufferin was entertained at dinner by the National club and the Toronto club, and made speeches on both occasions. Before returning to Ottawa he visited the International Exhibition at Philadelphia. At the end of July Lord and Lady Dufferin left for a visit to Manitoba and the West.

They had a cordial reception at Winnipeg, and made excursions in the neighbourhood before starting on a tour through the western Provinces.

The rapid extension, throughout the habitable earth, of safe and easy communications, may be taken to be one capital feature of modern civilization, which has powerfully promoted the distribution of industry, the mingling of races and religions, and the interfusion of nationalities. No country exhibits a more striking example than Canada of a population collected from the uttermost parts of the world. On the west coast of Lake Winnipeg Lord Dufferin found a colony of Icelanders, who greeted him as an old friend of their people, and whom he welcomed to Canada in a speech full of characteristic allusions to their history and traditions.

“The change now taking place in your fortunes is the very converse and opposite of that which befell your forefathers. They fled from their pleasant homes and golden cornfields into a howling wilderness of storm and darkness, ice and lava, but you I am welcoming to the healthiest climate on the continent, and to a soil of unexampled fertility, which a little honest industry on your part will soon turn into a garden of plenty. Nor do we forget that no race has a better right to come amongst us than yourselves, for it is probably to the hardihood of the Icelandic navigators that the world is indebted for the discovery of this continent. Had not Columbus visited your island, and discovered in your records a practical and absolute confirmation of his own brilliant speculations in regard to the existence of a western land, it is possible he might never have had the enterprise to tempt the unknown Atlantic.”

From the Icelanders to the Menonite Russians the change of origin, language, and religion is significant enough. Sectarian persecution, and the desire to escape military conscription, had brought these emigrants from South Russia to Canada, where the government made them free grants of land and guaranteed to them entire religious liberty.

"You have left your own land" (said Lord Dufferin to them) "in obedience to a conscientious scruple, nor will you have been the first to cross the Atlantic under the pressure of a similar exigency. In doing so you must have made great sacrifices, broken with many tender associations, and overthrown the settled purposes of your former peacefully ordered lives; but the very fact of your having manfully faced the uncertainties and risks of so distant an emigration rather than surrender your religious convictions in regard to the unlawfulness of warfare, proves you to be well worthy of our respect, confidence, and esteem.

"Here also" (he added) "we invite you to a war of ambition, for we intend to annex territory; but neither blazing villages nor devastated fields will mark our ruthless track; our battalions will march across the illimitable plains which stretch before us as sunshine steals athwart the ocean; the rolling prairie will blossom in our wake, and corn and peace and plenty will spring where we have trod."

On his return to Winnipeg Lord Dufferin made his Manitoba speech, describing the country that he had seen, the people he had met, and enlarging on the general content and prosperity that he had found everywhere. He spoke of the Menonite and Icelandic settlers, of the French half-breeds, and of the Indian tribes, for whose welfare and protection he had always shown earnest solicitude.

"Happily in no part of Her Majesty's dominions are the relations existing between the white settler and the original natives and masters of the land so well understood or so generously and humanely interpreted as in Canada, and, as a consequence, instead of being a cause of anxiety and disturbance, the Indian tribes of the Dominion are regarded as a valuable adjunct to our strength and industry. Wherever I have gone in the province, and since I have been here I have travelled nearly a thousand miles within your borders, I have found the Indians upon their several reserves—pretermittting a few petty grievances of a local character they thought themselves justified in preferring—contented and satisfied, upon the most friendly terms with their white neighbours, and implicitly confiding in the good faith and paternal solicitude of the government. . . .

"In close proximity to Winnipeg two other communities, the Menonites and Icelanders, starting from opposite ends of Europe, without either concert or communication, have sought fresh homes within our territory, the one of Russian extraction though of German race, the other bred amid the snows and ashes of an Arctic volcano."

Nor can any one follow his journey or read his speeches without realizing the interest, pride, and curiosity which a Governor General with vivid imagination must have felt in traversing a region where emigrants from such distant countries are found increasing and prospering side by side with indigenous tribes of half-tamed savages. The influence of free institutions, just laws, and the dominant type of British civilization was blending the language, manners, and ideas of all these groups into unity; so that a population with extraordinary diversity of origin was rapidly melting into one name and people.

At the beginning of October Lord Dufferin returned to Ottawa.

He writes to Lady Dorothy Nevill—

October 1, 1877.—"For the last eight weeks I have been petpetually on the move, and almost continually under canvas wandering up and down through the trackless prairies of Manitoba and down the roaring rapids of the Winnipeg. We have travelled about a thousand miles in the province, a good deal of the way on horseback, some distance in canoes, and for a day or two on board a steamer. Our tent life was very agreeable, and when towards the conclusion of our tour the weather became a little chillier at nights, we exchanged canvas for a regular Indian lodge of buffalo leather supported by poles, which has the advantage of admitting a small wood fire within its precincts, so that you are really very comfortable no matter how stormy and bitter it may be outside."

When the year 1878 began, Lord Dufferin's term of office had not many months to run before expiring; but at the suggestion of the Colonial Office he willingly prolonged it until October. Further extension he did not

desire, though Sir John Macdonald, who was then leading the Opposition with every prospect of a speedy return to the Premiership, wrote privately to the English ministry an urgent recommendation that Lord Dufferin should be asked to remain two years longer in Canada. The Russian war had just ended, leaving all Europe in a state of disquietude ; and Sir John was anxious (he said) that advantage should be taken of a somewhat threatening political situation to press for some organized system under which an effective auxiliary force could be raised and maintained by the colony in times of war. Lord Dufferin, he wrote, who is not only popular in the ordinary sense of the word, but has acquired the confidence of the Parliament and the people—who has visited and thoroughly knows every part of the territory—" would carry the country in its present warlike mood if he took up the question warmly." But Lord Dufferin's mind was now turned toward home, nor had he any inclination toward an Australian governorship, although Lord Carnarvon and Sir Michael Hicks Beach had both sounded him on this subject.

In February, after opening Parliament at Ottawa, he accepted an invitation from the Montreal citizens, was enthusiastically welcomed, received an address in Greek from the McGill University, surprised and gratified his erudite audience by replying in the same language, and was admitted to the honorary degree of D.C.L. In a speech foreshadowing *depar ure*, made at a banquet given in his honour, he touched the emotions of listeners accustomed to a cooler tone of official eloquence, by his peculiar gift of bringing personal feelings and sympathies into his conception of public duties. He congratulated them on the growing prosperity of their city, and of Canada at large ; he acknowledged their hospitable welcome of him, and the support and confidence that the Canadian people had accorded to him during his six years of sojourning among them. He dwelt upon the transient presence in Canada of Governors General who pass across the stage, to mark a period, and per-

haps to leave some kindly memories. Therefore, he concluded, "in acknowledging your hospitality, and the marks of your affection and goodwill, it is not the individual who thanks you, but the interpreter and representative of those indestructible principles of constitutional government and of imperial unity which are the foundations of your private happiness and public prosperity."

Then followed, at Ottawa, the farewell ball, and the presentation to His Excellency of a valedictory address from both Houses of Parliament. At Montreal there was a grand military review, when Lord Dufferin took occasion to allude to numerous offers that had been made by Canadian volunteers, of service in the Queen's armies abroad whenever they should take the field. In June he took his final departure from Ottawa, transferring his residence to Quebec; and went to Cambridge (U.S.) for the reception of a degree from the Harvard University. He made a tour in August through the Eastern townships, received and replied to sundry and divers addresses, opened the Toronto exhibition, held levées and acknowledged innumerable tokens of the honour and gratitude that he had earned from the Canadian people; until, in the wind, rain, and tossing waters of a storm sweeping up the St. Lawrence, he took ship at Quebec for England.

The last public event under his Governor Generalship was the defeat of the Free Trade party at a general election, the resignation, in October, of Mr. Mackenzie, and the triumphant return to office of Sir John Macdonald with a "National Policy" of tariff-revision on the basis of protection to Home industries.

Lord Carnarvon had written to Lord Dufferin of the universal regrets that he was leaving behind him in Canada, "the sole disadvantage to your successor being that he will always have an impossible standard before him;" Lord Cairns offered his "sincere congratulations on the splendid success of your Viceroyalty;" and Lord Northbrook rejoiced at the brilliant success of his career in Canada.

Long after his departure from their country the Canadians, particularly those with whom he had been associated officially, watched Lord Dufferin's subsequent fortunes with friendly interest.

Sir Charles Tupper wrote to him on January 7, 1879—

"I have witnessed with intense satisfaction the manner in which your Lordship has been received by all parties and classes on your return to your native land, showing as it does that an Imperial fame may be achieved in Canada as well as in Great Britain. Every one here is delighted to find that in losing you as a Viceroy we have found an able and eloquent advocate in the heart of the Empire. In your speech at Belfast you even excelled yourself. You will I know be glad to hear that the Marquis of Lorne has made a very favourable impression, and that the Princess is winning all hearts."

In February 1881 Mr. Mackenzie tells him that—

"The old adage that absent faces are soon forgotten is not true in your case. The whole people seem to keep your names in affectionate remembrance, for the course you pursued in meeting the people so much has left an indelible impression on the popular mind."

And Lady Macdonald * wrote to him (apparently on his nomination to Constantinople in 1881)—

"to say what unbounded pleasure it has given us all to know of your recent appointment. I hope you will feel that none are more sincere in their congratulations than our little circle. Since you have left our shores we have watched and followed you, rejoicing in every fresh proof of Her Majesty's esteem and confidence, and in everything pertaining to your welfare and success. We owe you and Lady Dufferin much, and there are many to share our feelings. People still speak of you both with the greatest affection and respect."

It is indeed beyond question, for on this point the

* Now Baroness Macdonald of Earncliffe.

testimony of Canadian writers is unanimous, that in Canada Lord Dufferin rendered great and timely services to the British empire. A few years before his appointment to the Governor Generalship the set of opinion among English politicians had been toward the belief that colonial possessions imposed upon the mother country troublesome liabilities with very inadequate and temporary advantage—that a full-grown colony became naturally impatient of parental control, and that self-government was merely the prelude to separation. Such presentiments were likely to accelerate their own fulfilment by creating discouragement on both sides. In a letter to Lord Granville (1889) Lord Dufferin alludes to a passage in the "Autobiography of Sir Henry Taylor," one of the ablest under-secretaries at the Colonial office. Writing to the Duke of Newcastle, then (1864) Colonial Secretary, Sir Henry Taylor had said—

"When your Grace and the Prince of Wales were employing yourselves so successfully in conciliating the (Canadian) colonists I thought you were drawing closer ties that might be better slackened if there were any chance of slipping away. I think that a policy which has regard to a not very distant future should prepare facilities and propensities for separation."

And Lord Dufferin adds—

"It is perfectly true that, after I had been appointed to Canada, Bob Lowe came up to me in a club and said, 'Now you ought to make it your business to get rid of the Dominion,' to which I replied that I certainly did not intend to be handed down to history as the Governor General who had lost Canada."

Views and predictions of this sort could not have failed to create some impression in the colonies—

"Before Lord Dufferin assumed the government of Canada, the injudicious expression in England of erroneous ideas relating to the connexion between her and the mother

country had engendered, not a feeling of disloyalty, but a feeling of disappointed affection in the minds of many thoughtful Canadians. They felt hurt that their warm attachment to the parent state was not universally reciprocated; and a feeling of injured pride, possibly, stole over Canadian hearts when they found their splendid country looked upon as an incubus on imperial policy, and themselves regarded as thriftless hangers-on to a rich patron." *

Nevertheless, Mr. Leggo assures us, the attachment of the colonists to the British sovereignty had never been really shaken. He declares that Canada "owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Dufferin for the clearness and boldness with which he proclaimed his unbounded confidence in her unselfish loyalty." And Mr. Stewart concludes his "History of Lord Dufferin's Administration" with a quotation from one of the speeches of the departing Governor General, which strikes the keynote of his policy and records his just exultation over its success.

"I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects of Her Majesty's Dominions. I found you proud of your descent and anxious to maintain your connexion with the mother country; I leave you more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency. I found you—men of various nationalities—of English, French, Irish, Scotch and German descent, working out the problems of constitutional government with admirable success; I leave you with even a deeper conviction in your minds that the due application of the principles of Parliamentary government is capable of resolving all political difficulties, and of controlling the gravest ministerial crisis, to the satisfaction of the people at large, and of their leaders and representatives of every shade of opinion." †

* Leggo, pp. 852-3.

† Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Dufferin, p. 257.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EMBASSY TO ST. PETERSBURG.

AFTER six years in Canada, Lord Dufferin had but a short holiday at home. In January 1879, Lord Beaconsfield, who had spoken with unqualified approval of Lord Dufferin's Canadian administration, wrote to the Duke of Somerset—

“ I think it highly desirable both for his own sake and that of the country that Lord Dufferin should be employed. Would he go as ambassador to St. Petersburg ? It is at this moment the most important Court, and I require a first-rate man there.”

The overture was successful, for some days later Lord Dufferin received a letter from the Prime Minister, who said that it had always been his wish to place him in some first-rate post where his abilities and experience would serve the country, and that to his (the Premier's) peculiar satisfaction this wish could now be at length fulfilled. And early in February it became known that Lord Dufferin had been appointed to the British embassy at St. Petersburg.

“ The offer ” (Lord Dufferin wrote later) “ was made in very handsome terms, leaving me quite free as to my politics, so that I had no misgivings on that score ; but there was something rather comical in my position at the Reform Club banquet, and my speech on that occasion was not the easiest that I have had to make. I do not think Gladstone was quite pleased, though he sent me a very kind message.”

Lord Granville, in fact, on first hearing privately of the appointment, had written confidentially and fully to Mr. Gladstone, who replied—

“ Thanks for your detailed information of a rather peculiar case. I really do not know why Dufferin should consider himself to be under any sort of obligation to me. But though I cannot be glad he is in confidential relations with Lord Beaconsfield, I feel with you that no condemnation of the act could properly be pronounced, and also that after he had done it, he was more than ever bound to attend the Reform Club dinner.”

That the selection of ambassadors should be unaffected by party considerations, is a principle to which no English statesman would demur. If the tone of Mr. Gladstone's reply indicated some reserve and negative approval, it must be remembered that his thunderous denunciations of Lord Beaconsfield's policy in the East were still echoing through the country, that he had proposed a vote of censure upon the proceedings in Afghanistan, and that upon this field he was marshalling his forces for the great assault upon the Conservative government which carried him to victory at the general election twelve months later. In these circumstances the post of ambassador to Russia had more than ordinary importance, for a change of Cabinets at home would mean a reversal of policy on Eastern questions abroad ; and Conservative appointments might not have suited a Liberal Foreign Office. But while Mr. Gladstone could hardly have been expected to signify more than acquiescence in the choice made by the Tory Premier of one who had belonged to a Liberal ministry, he said enough to prove that Lord Dufferin enjoyed the confidence of both parties.

“ It is a well-deserved compliment ” (Lord Spencer wrote to him) “ to be selected to a post which requires the best qualities of a diplomatist and statesman by a government with whose policy you do not agree ; and as no doubt you

have a perfectly clear understanding as to political independence, I think you were so right to take it."

Lord Carnarvon, who had resigned office when the British fleet was ordered to Constantinople, cordially approved the appointment; and Dean Stanley, in congratulating the new ambassador, wrote—

"In spite of all their faults, I love the Russians, and I am glad that they will have among them one who will understand as well as comfort them. I trust that the blessings of Niagara and the St. Lawrence may accompany you to the Neva."

From Lord Odo Russell (then ambassador at Berlin) he received the following letter:—

"You will have heard from Arthur * how delighted we are at your having consented to join our body, after having been the most successfully brilliant ruler among the sovereigns of the world, and made yourself an immortal name among your fellow-creatures. To me it is all joy to have you as a neighbour and colleague, and I feel sure you will mesmerize the Russians as you mesmerized and fascinated me in the good old days of Grosvenor Place and Pembroke Lodge! *Tempi passati!*—In Russia you will find a very difficult problem to solve, and a great policy to inaugurate, as Lord Beaconsfield knows and has better understood than any statesman living. You are the man to succeed in it, and you will confer great blessings on England, Russia, and the Eastern world.

"I look forward anxiously to seeing you when you pass through Berlin, and write this line to say that I hope you will command my services in every way."

In 1866 a Breakfast club had been formed in London, with Lord Dufferin as one of its twelve members. It still flourishes; and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff notes in his Diary for February 17, 1879, a special meeting to wish all good luck to Lord Dufferin (at least personally) before he set out for St. Petersburg. He was as

* Lord Arthur Russell.

usual in great spirits, describing admirably the consummate acting in the Chinese theatre at San Francisco—"itself, with its old-world civilization, so strange a contrast to its surroundings."

The Reform Club dinner, to which Mr. Gladstone had alluded, took place on the second evening before Lord Dufferin departed for Russia, when the Liberal party mustered in force to acclaim his success in Canada, and to speed him on his new mission. Their leaders had seized this opportunity of strengthening and stimulating the attachment of Canada to the mother country. The Gladstonians were under grave suspicion of slighting colonial connexions; and here was a superlative occasion for publicly refuting injurious allegations. Lord Granville, who presided at the banquet, reminded his audience that their guest had won his first distinction upon the Syrian Commission, and that other similar questions of great importance, relating to Turkish affairs, were just then prominent at St. Petersburg. With regard to the Canadian Governor Generalship, he enlarged upon the signal service rendered to the empire by the very remarkable speeches in which Lord Dufferin had inspired the colonists with noble aims and high expectations, with pride in their country and confidence in its future destiny, and with a patriotism that would not easily die out.

The Liberal party (Lord Granville said)

"had been accused of treating with indifference the warm and spontaneous loyalty of the colonists, and of secretly longing to repudiate the burdens of a world-wide empire. What could be a better method of clearing Liberalism from such damaging imputations than to show the world that Lord Dufferin, the most successful of colonial governors, the most eloquent advocate of Imperialism in its best and highest sense, had been throughout and still remained a consistent member of the Liberal party?"

In this passage we have the keynote of the situation. The Liberals were anxious to proclaim and carry to their

own account Lord Dufferin's Canadian achievements. No less was it their desire and particular intention to emphasize their understanding, and to register his own affirmation, that in the sphere of domestic politics he still ranked among them, and that he might accept foreign service under the Crown without relaxing his allegiance to their standard at home, the more easily because he had been kept apart and at a distance from the stormy field of recent parliamentary warfare.

Lord Dufferin, in his reply, spoke of the banquet as much more than a compliment to himself.

"It is a proof" (he said) "of the interest, the good will, and the affection felt by some of the most distinguished men in England toward the future destinies of Canada; and it is an unspeakable pleasure to me to have been the occasion of this demonstration."

He explained clearly, in the course of his speech, that he had not accepted Lord Beaconsfield's offer without stipulating for entire freedom in the domain of English politics, upon which his opinions remained unaffected and unchanged. And undoubtedly these public declarations were not altogether superfluous.

"A little constraint" (the *Times* observed next morning) "was inevitable in the speeches of politicians who have been used to condemn unsparingly the policy of which Lord Dufferin has now become the accredited agent. Lord Dufferin has himself a well-merited reputation for tact; but his manly candour stood him in better stead than all the subtleties of Talleyrand. He asserted not only his Liberal convictions, but his determination to share the political fortunes of his party."

Lord Dufferin left England (February 24) after an interval of little more than three months from his arrival. His departure was expedited by the pressing representations of the Foreign Office that important and urgent interests demanded his presence at St. Petersburg. It was known, moreover, that the Czar's ambassador in

London was by no means on confidential terms with his chief, Prince Gortchakoff ; so that the British embassy had become more than ever, for the moment, the essential channel of communication with the principal Russian minister.

Lord Dufferin, therefore, assumed charge of his first embassy at a time when the condition of affairs in Russia, and the state of our relations with its government, provided ample scope for the highest diplomatic experience and capacity. The Treaty of Berlin had been a heavy blow and a great disappointment to the National Russian party. In 1878, when the Russian army lay under the walls of Constantinople, the English government had interposed with an armed demonstration ; and at Berlin the representatives of England had thwarted Panslavist aims, having previously acquired Cyprus by a secret treaty with Turkey, and had been prominent in insisting upon the modifications, adverse to Russian interests, that were made in the San Stefano treaty between Russia and Turkey. The Russians had retaliated by sending to Afghanistan an envoy to make a treaty of alliance at Kabul with the Amir, who was merely a card in Russian hands, and had been thrown aside without scruple when the great game at Berlin was played out. There had been widespread and resentful indignation among the Panslavists at the terms imposed upon Russia by the Berlin treaty ; and the belief that the Czar's government had been weak and unfaithful to the cause for which the war against Turkey had been undertaken, had excited profound discontent. In this state of affairs the Nihilist desperadoes found their opportunity for renewing secret conspiracies and an underground agitation against the whole fabric of autocratic government in Russia ; while the natural outcome of all these events and their consequences had been to engender much irritation against England at St. Petersburg. Prince Bismarck, who at this moment had his own reasons for diplomatic demonstrations against Russia, was annoying Prince Gortchakoff by making advances toward England,

and was otherwise industriously engaged in fomenting the intense susceptibility with which the other great Powers were contending over issues in Eastern Europe that to Germany were of little real concern. Prince Bismarck's object was to avert a coalition of Russia, France and England, or at any rate a friendly *rapprochement*, by stirring up dissensions among them over Asiatic affairs.

In this situation Lord Dufferin's reputation as an English Liberal, of the party that had certainly shown no sympathy with Lord Beaconsfield's Eastern policy, was a point in his favour at the Russian Court. On his way to Russia he had an interview with Prince Bismarck, who kept him an hour in conversation about persons and politics at St. Petersburg.* Soon after his arrival, early in March, at the Russian capital, he presented his letters of credence to the emperor at a personal audience, when his first diplomatic experience began with facing what he describes as "a great scolding" from the emperor, who enlarged upon the pertinacity displayed by the British government in crossing his plans and obstructing his operations in a war that had been undertaken by Russia, not (he said) from ambition, but for the purpose of rescuing the Christian populations of south-eastern Europe from the domination of an alien ruler. At the Berlin Congress, His Majesty said, his plenipotentiaries had done their utmost to fall in with the views of England, although execution of the clause in the Treaty regarding the division of Bulgaria was almost impracticable. Nevertheless, since the Czar concluded by pledging himself to a strict observance of the Berlin Treaty, Lord Dufferin was able to declare confidently that upon this understanding his government would spare no efforts toward an amicable solution of all out-

* "At 3 p.m. I (Dr. Busch) went to his palace. After waiting in the antechamber for a quarter of an hour, a slight, thin elderly gentleman came out, being accompanied by the Prince as far as the antechamber. This was Lord Dufferin, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg" ("Bismarck—Some Secret Pages of his History," by Dr. Moritz Busch, ii. 391).

standing questions. Two interviews followed with Prince Gortchakoff, who received the ambassador with great cordiality, and dwelt principally upon the necessity of so dealing with the affairs of the Balkan peninsula that the Turkish government might have no reason for calculating upon a disunion between England and Russia in regard to them.

To the Duke of Argyll Lord Dufferin writes in March—

"I did not come here with a very light heart. Another spell of an Arctic climate is not a pleasant prospect. But the offer of the post was a great compliment, and having been so long absent from England I thought it a good opportunity of educating myself a little in European politics—moreover, I hate being idle. . . .

"The Russians have given me a very good reception, and, socially, are disposed to be friendly.

"The hours they keep are dreadful. You dine at six, but their Drums and parties do not begin till half-past eleven, and you never go to bed much before three or four. Luckily we have not yet become entangled in these untimely dissipations. . . .

"Chanzy, the French ambassador, has just come, and dined with me last night. I saw him last nineteen years ago, when we parted in Syria. He told me this story—

"In one of his battles he was up in a church tower, when he saw a regiment give way. He descended with great haste to rally them—catching hold of one fellow by the collar he pulled out his revolver from the holster intending to shoot him through the head, but he could not find the trigger, and then saw that he had got hold of a small brandy bottle, which the forethought of his servant had provided him with. This he broke over the culprit's head, who got off cheaper than he otherwise would have done."

During the following months Lord Dufferin was occupied with disentangling many complications that were hindering the performance of the Treaty stipulations—the delimitation of new frontiers, the withdrawal of the Russian army from the Balkan peninsula, and the administrative arrangements for the territory left under

the Turkish sovereignty. He acted upon the conviction that a firm attitude, and a clear understanding of the position which his government had assumed and intended to maintain, might have kept Russia from some serious errors into which she had been led by mistrust of England in the past ; and that this would be the only sure road out of present difficulties. The Russian government, moreover, was harassed in these intricate disputes over foreign affairs by the protests and plots of the violent National party, who denounced the impotent cowardice of yielding to pro-Turkish influences, and reproached the government with abandoning a holy crusade. In this heated atmosphere the subterranean fires broke out, and Nihilism struck fiercely at the authorities. Incendiarism and daring attempts at political murders kept the country in continual alarm ; a woman who tried to kill the chief of the police was acquitted by a special jury ; and martial law had been proclaimed in the districts where these crimes were rife. In April 1879 the emperor narrowly escaped assassination. According to Lord Dufferin's report of the incident, the emperor, walking in the square before his palace, was met by a respectably dressed man, who saluted him, stepped aside, and fired several shots at the emperor when he passed, all of which luckily missed him. This man was the son of an old servant of the imperial household, educated, it was said, at the expense of the Grand Duchess, and by profession a schoolmaster.

"Directly the news spread through the city all the nobility and the ladies flocked to the palace, the latter smothering the emperor with kisses."

In the course of this year Lord and Lady Dufferin made two expeditions to England, the first in May, when they were invited to Windsor, and passed a few days at Clandebye. At Oxford the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon Lord Dufferin.

The subjoined extracts from his letters to Lady Duf-

ferin in England give some account of his return journey to Russia in June (1879) and of his arrival at St. Petersburg—

“At Minden we were given 22 minutes for an excellent dinner, and the first person I sat down beside turned out to be Ronald Gower.* The day was full of sunshine, and the country looked quite beautiful, not so garden-like as England, but still lovely in its great breadth of corn land and pasture, dotted with farm houses and red-roofed villages. We got to Berlin at half-past seven, and Ronald, an artist friend with whom he was travelling, and I had dinner in the courtyard of the Kaiserhoff, which you will remember. They gave me the same rooms we had before. After dinner we strolled out to hear some music in their garden. The night was divine, and the music excellent, and so home to bed about 12. This morning I have despatched a letter to Prince Bismarck to tell him of my arrival, and proposing I should pay him a visit.

“July 2.—I dined last night with Bismarck, both he and his wife were extremely courteous, and I spent a good hour after dinner listening to him. When I got up to go away he paid me a number of compliments, and said that everybody at St. Petersburg was delighted with me, and that I had done more than any one to bring about the present peaceful condition of Europe. The Princess bade me make their house my hotel whenever I returned.

“*St. Petersburg.*—On reaching the station I found all the embassy awaiting me, and it was a great comfort seeing their pleasant cordial faces. After dinner W. Compton carried me off in a nice little open carriage he has got for me to the point where the *beau monde* assemble. On this occasion, however, it was only represented by Chakir Pasha and a few naughty ladies. It was still quite light when I returned home at 12 : this at all events is a comfort, as by knocking about one does not feel so lonely. Next day I

* “At Minden station I had the good fortune to meet Lord Dufferin, and continued the journey with him to Berlin, and then on to Russia. He is as easily pleased and as ‘*unblasé*’ with such things as ever he was, and not at all changed or spoilt by having been a Governor General, and a present Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. His is certainly a delightful nature; no wonder he is so popular and universally liked wherever he goes, whether it be Syria, Canada, or Russia.”—Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower’s “Reminiscences,” pp. 440, 441.

saw the Langenaus and Chanzy, with whom I had a long conversation. He is certainly clever, with clear, precise ideas, and very pleasant and friendly. I dined by myself in a forlorn manner and then took a turn with Chanzy. I finished my evening by a visit to Princess Soltikoff, who is living in a little damp villa just outside the town. Nigra was there, and I passed a sufficiently pleasant half-hour, and so home to bed."

He was specially invited to witness some grand military manœuvres, and he describes what he saw as he stood beside the emperor.

"The entire force, horse, foot, and artillery, was arranged in two divisions with a view of attacking an imaginary enemy. Our line of battle must have been seven or eight miles wide. At first the right wing advanced its artillery to some convenient heights, and after blazing away for half an hour, we hurled our cavalry at the foe, but the attack was repulsed, and both guns and dragoons had to retire. Soon after, however, the left wing commenced its advance. Nothing could have been prettier than to see the several batteries discover themselves among the woods in the far distance, by their unexpected puffs of white smoke. Indeed the way in which the whole field of vision became imperceptibly peopled with battalions was extraordinary; catching first a head here and then another there in the short brushwood before us. You gradually perceived as the eye wandered on, that the place was alive with scattered pelotons of tirailleurs, then whole regiments advancing in loose formation, wave upon wave round two-thirds of the vast arena, while the distant horizon became fringed with thunder, smoke, and fire. . . . The artillery from all sides approached nearer and nearer, the two corps of infantry, into which the army had originally been divided, drove down upon us in a joint attack, and at last dashing through the intervals of the regiments, the light brigade on one side, the heavy dragoons on the other side, the entire cavalry charged simultaneously upon the flying foe. This last performance was really glorious. There must have been from six to seven thousand horsemen engaged in the operation, and the rapid movement of such warriors, their breast-plates and helmets glittering in the sun, with the shouts of their commanders, produced an effect which it is impossible to describe. . . .

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"I forgot to mention that in one of Peter the Great's little pleasure palaces which I have seen there was a table, which mounted by machinery from the kitchen below to the dining-room above. The plates, or rather the centre of the table, performed this evolution. Each plate did the same, and its owner had in front of him a string which pulled a bell, and as each bell had a different note, the cook always knew which of the guests it was that wanted his plate changed. . . .

"This afternoon I have made an expedition to Paulovsk . . . and seen the palace, which was interesting. Among other things displayed were all the articles which happened to be on the emperor Paul's table the night he was assassinated, consisting of a small piece of soap, a hair-brush, some envelopes and things of that description. It appears that in all the Russian schools the fact of his murder is eliminated from the histories, and he is represented as having died a natural death.

"I am counting every hour, and long for the time when I shall see you again. How nice will be the quiet and repose of Clandeboye. . . ."

Lord Dufferin left Russia again for England at the end of August, and on arrival in London he went straight to Clandeboye. During the three following months his diary records two voyages to Ireland, and six weeks in Paris, dinners with M. Waddington the French foreign minister, and with the Duc d'Aumale; the opera with the Duc d'Orleans; and in England visits to the Queen, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Beaconsfield.

To Lady Dufferin, who returned separately and before him to St. Petersburg, as Foreign Office business detained him unexpectedly in England, he wrote at length and assiduously.

"*October 10.*—I have just come from Lord Salisbury, and he wishes me to delay my departure—the reasons are sufficiently obvious so I cannot but acquiesce in their cogency.

"*November 27.*—I called on Lord Salisbury to-day for my final instructions, when to my dismay he informed me that he would like me to stay in London a week or ten days longer, why and wherefore I cannot explain by post.

Of course I could only acquiesce, but it sent a pang to my heart to think what a disappointment the news would cause you. . . . Remember that I am of a very anxious disposition in regard to those I love, and that if your little finger aches for more than twenty-four hours at a stretch, I shall hurry off to you in spite of Salisbury and Cabinet."

On November 29 he received a sudden summons to Windsor.

"The Queen had a bad headache, but she was very kind and civil notwithstanding. After dinner Schouvaloff, Lady S. and myself played whist, and to everybody's astonishment Schouvaloff started off at 12 o'clock in a post chaise for London, instead of taking a special train which would have been cheaper and of course infinitely quicker."

At last on December 11 he was allowed to set off for St. Petersburg, but on his way he received from Prince Bismarck an invitation to visit him at Varzin. His principal interview with the great Chancellor may be related in his own words—

December 17, 1879.—"I arrived at Berlin late on the 12th and immediately received a command from the Empress to wait upon her at four o'clock the next day. She honoured me with an audience of three-quarters of an hour, during the course of which the Emperor came in looking wonderfully well. Her Majesty was most earnest in her expressions of her affection and admiration for the Queen, but she did not conceal her want of sympathy for Russia and its government. She expressed her delight at our successes in Afghanistan, and terminated the interview by earnestly hoping that peace in Europe might continue to be preserved.

"The same evening I received a visit from Prince Bismarck inviting me to visit him at Varzin, for which place I accordingly started the following morning, and reached the Prince's château at about 5 o'clock. I found His Highness dining by himself in his dressing-gown, having just begun to recover from what has evidently been a pretty sharp bilious attack, which had occasioned him a great deal of suffering. The pain had been so great, he said, he had

been ready to climb up the four walls of his room. I was then hurried off to my dinner in another room with his son. I was not allowed to wash my hands or to go to my own room. The dinner was very good in a rough kind of way, with plenty of wine. After dinner he sent for me again, and I spent more than two hours *tête-à-tête* with him. I also saw him the next morning, and have every reason to be satisfied both with the cordial reception he gave me, and the extreme frankness with which he spoke to me.

"Prefacing his remarks by saying, 'It will probably be useful to you to know the following circumstances,' he entered upon a very humorous and epigrammatic view of some of the recent political transactions in which he had been concerned.

"I now subjoin a succinct sketch of what he told me.

"Some time ago (he did not mention the exact date, but he evidently referred to an epoch some time antecedent to the late Eastern troubles) his notice was attracted by the extent to which Russia was massing her cavalry along her western frontier, enough for an army of 400,000 men. He could not bring himself to believe that war against Germany was intended, and eventually he concluded it was either Austria or Turkey was being menaced. Perhaps there was an alternative scheme against both. Feeling convinced that Russia was determined 'to let itself blood,' he thought it would be less dangerous to Europe that the attack should be made on Turkey than on Austria, and he did his best to divert the current of aggression in that direction. In the course of the subsequent negotiations to this end, the Russians asked him if he would allow them to annex Batoum. He answered them that he did not care twopence about Batoum. Indeed it is evident he would have been glad had they entered Constantinople and celebrated a Mass in St. Sophia, provided, of course, they had marched out again.

"Coming down to more recent times he said he had done everything at the Congress of Berlin to forward the views put forward by Russia, but that, notwithstanding, Russia was offended with him and with Germany, because they had not divined what Russia had wanted in addition and obtained it for her. That during the course of last summer the Russian emperor had written a letter to the emperor of Germany threatening him with war in the usual formula known to diplomatists, if the German representa-

tives in the Eastern Commission continued to vote against their Russian colleagues. That the King had communicated the letter to him, and that he had drafted a reply, which was sent, protesting against the patronizing air assumed by the Czar, enumerating the occasions on which Russia had as much reason to be grateful to Germany as Germany to Russia, refusing to submit to dictation, and requesting that the Czar in future would address him (the emperor of Germany) as an equal to an equal, and not as a superior. That it was at this time that Russian overtures were made to France through General Obretchhoff, who had been sent to assist at the French manœuvres, but that Chanzy having reported that the Russians were not ready, the French government became less disposed than ever to embark in an adventurous policy.

"The perseverance of Russia in her attitude of menace then suggested to him that she had come to a secret understanding with Austria against Germany, which he knew would be agreeable to the Court party and many influential persons at Vienna. From his interview with Andrassy at Gastein he discovered his fears to be unfounded, but he determined to go to Vienna in order to assure himself of the exact state of the political situation there. I gathered that he was fortified in this resolution by the fact of the German emperor having gone to meet the Czar against his express entreaties, on the plea that Alexander could not safely come into Germany.

"Prince Bismarck had desired that the terms of the alliance of the two empires should have been solemnly consigned to a public treaty, and that this document should have required the consent of the respective Parliaments of the two Powers before any clause in it could be repealed or modified by the government of either. This latter arrangement he was not able to effect, but nevertheless he considers the actual agreement as equally solid and durable.

"He then referred in a very humorous manner to the cheerful way in which the Russians had pretended to acquiesce in this new order of things, and that Souvaroff had come to him with his face beaming as soon as he heard the news, and assured him it was the one thing he had most desired. 'He could not have been more affectionate,' said the Prince, 'had we been about to marry our son and daughter.' As for the Russians he had frankly given them the following explanation of his visit to Vienna—I

regarded you as a dear friend with whom I was taking a solitary walk and who suddenly had gone mad. I rushed off to provide myself with a pocket pistol, and now I am come back to continue my walk with you in the same amicable manner, but in a more comfortable state of mind as to my own safety.'

"He spoke of this pact with Austria as a sure guarantee for the peace of Europe. He said he had a passion for peace, that he had got all that he wanted, and that Germany now belonged to the party of *les satisfaits*. England, he said, is also anxious for peace. She likes indeed having a little 'sporting' war or two on hand in distant parts, but in Europe she desires peace. Both the Prince and his entourage, who I imagine reflect his sentiments, evidently regard France with great mistrust, and believe that on the first opportunity she will attack Prussia, especially if a Radical government comes in. The best guarantee, the Prince thought, against anything of this kind was our alliance with France. As long as we are friends and act together in the East, France is unlikely to fall into the hands of Russia, but if we shake her off like a woman of doubtful virtue, into the arms of Russia she will go.

"I asked him what he thought of Turkey, and referred to the apparent difficulty of keeping the Ottoman empire going. This he admitted, but he said 'the Ottoman empire is one of those things which *has* to go.' "

Writing to a friend in England Lord Dufferin mentions this remarkable interview—

"I found Prince Bismarck ill but as vigorous in conversation as ever. He kept me two full hours giving a history of recent events in Europe from his own point of view. Varzin is a rambling unpretending house of no style, but with one huge wing added to it by the Chancellor himself. The estate, which he bought some twelve years ago, is about fifteen or twenty thousand acres. What induced him to pitch his tent in such a God-forsaken district of

* Dr. Busch has published, in his work already cited, his notes of various conversations with the Chancellor, among which may be found in substance much that Bismarck said to Lord Dufferin. The treaty between Germany and Austria had just been concluded; and Bismarck desired to explain that he made it out of fear lest Russia, France, and possibly Austria, should form a coalition, while he doubted whether in that event England would stand by Germany.

Pomerania I cannot conceive. It possesses a Russian climate, and is destitute of any picturesque feature to relieve its barren expanses and monotonous pine forests ; but its owner is evidently very proud of his possessions, and is perpetually planting trees, and taking his guests to see them grow."

Lord Odo Russell wrote to him from Berlin (December 26, 1879)—

"Your visit to Varzin has created deep sensation in the diplomatic world, and my colleagues, in reply to my assertion that I know but little about it, inform me that you went there to interest Bismarck in our Indian affairs and secure his future support against Russian intrigues."

"Gortchakoff is here, and remains till to-morrow night. He is greatly put out at hearing from London that you are to go to Constantinople, and says Her Majesty's government will never find another ambassador so sympathetic, so popular, or so well received as you, and that he protests against your leaving St. Petersburg, etc., etc. I assured him I had heard nothing about this report and did not for one moment believe it, which soothed his feelings of disappointment, vexation, and regret."

Again, on January 9, 1880—

"The Princess Radziwill, whom you met at our house, showed us a private letter from one of her Russian friends describing your brilliant reception and beautiful embassy, and saying that Lady Dufferin and yourself were the most charming and popular diplomatists that had ever been in St. Petersburg."

The subjoined note from Prince Bismarck may be worth preserving (January 20, 1880)—

"Many thanks for your kind wishes, which I cordially reciprocate, naturally including Lady Dufferin, if she will graciously allow it.

"Your book, into which I entered with much pleasure,

confirms my previous impression, that you are the man for high latitudes.

"*Au revoir*, dear Lord Dufferin."

On January 1, 1880, Lord Dufferin writes—

"We held our great reception the other day—a very solemn ceremony; the Emperor sending four 'Chambellans' from the Court to introduce his lieges to us. The whole Russian society attended; and I have been greatly complimented on their alacrity in coming. . . . I am very glad to be at rest, after rocketting so much about the world; I have crossed the two Channels, Irish and English, six and twenty times during the last ten months."

Meanwhile the movements of the Russian army in Central Asia were disquieting England and India. In July 1879, the manifest preparations for an expedition on a large scale against the Tekke Turkomans brought the British ambassador to the Russian minister for explanation. The Russian Cabinet was prodigal in soothing assurances, but positive engagements as to the precise limits of these operations were not forthcoming; nor indeed could Russia be expected to place a formal bar over her own line of advance into countries mainly desert or inhabited by restless nomad tribes. Neither in physics nor in politics is the theory of a vacuum admissible; and the vacant spaces on the world's map are gradually filled up by the gravitation toward each other of the solid political bodies. It was vain and even unreasonable to suppose that diplomatic protests would retard the subjugation by Russia of the wild Turkomans, or prevent the occupation of Merv; while by encouraging the tribes to resist we were merely expediting their destruction. Undoubtedly it was desirable that Russia should be restrained from acquiring a position close to the Afghan frontier that enabled her at will to disquiet England by threatening a State under our protection; but our reasons for opposing such a move on the strategical chess-board were precisely those which induced Russia to make it. On the other hand, the

English forces had occupied Kabul in October 1879; and rumours of further advances into western Afghanistan were alarming the Russians, who feared that we might establish a position that would dominate all north-eastern Persia by the seizure of Herat. But Russia herself was taking up ground across the Caspian on the Persian frontier. The situation provided each party with pretexts for distrustful inquiries and diplomatic retorts, which had little or no real influence upon the action of either government, except so far that each of them was confirmed in the determination to consult its own interests with very little regard for the other.

All this time within Russia the elements of political hatred and despair were being compressed to the point of explosion. The Nihilists, having lost all hope of reforming by other means the autocratic system, were resorting to terrorism. The police had descended upon the centres of Nihilistic propaganda, making numerous captives, and sweeping within their net some English newspaper reporters who had hurried to the scene in the exercise of their vocation. Among others of a higher class a prominent lady in St. Petersburg society, who had won Lord Dufferin's admiration, had been suddenly ordered into exile. When in April 1879 the assassin who fired at the emperor had been arrested, he had said, on hearing that his attempt had failed, "It will only have to begin over again;" and in spite of this warning the prediction was fulfilled. On February 18, 1880, Lord Dufferin was dining with the French ambassador, when Monsieur de Giers, the Russian minister, who was also present, mentioned that he had heard a loud explosion in the direction of the palace, and had sent for information. A messenger soon brought news of an attempt to blow up the emperor's apartments. This broke up the party, and Lord Dufferin hurried to the palace, where the emperor, accompanied by the Duchess of Edinburgh, came out to speak with him. His first words were, "Providence has again mercifully saved me."

To Lord Salisbury, February 18, 1880—

"He (the Emperor) then told me that the Empress was asleep when the catastrophe occurred—that the noise had not awoken her, and that she was still unaware of what had happened. The Duchess of Edinburgh, I am told, showed remarkable courage and presence of mind, her apartments being in very close proximity to the scene of the catastrophe."

It appeared that a mine had been fired on the basement story immediately under the room where the emperor was to dine ; that the explosion had completely destroyed the heavy vaulted roof which separated the basement from the apartment on the ground floor where the guard had been dining, that eight soldiers had been killed and forty-five wounded, but that as the concussion had not seriously affected the floor above, no further mischief had been done. The Prince of Bulgaria, who was expected to dinner, was late—a shot had been fired at the royal carriage that was taking him to the palace—and the emperor had been waiting for him in the drawing-room at the moment of the explosion. Rumours had been abroad for months past, Lord Dufferin wrote, of a conspiracy to blow up the palace, which had been kept crammed with soldiers ever since the emperor's return—a strange method of precaution against a gunpowder plot ; but according to Lord Dufferin the imbecility of the special household police had been superhuman. The general commanding the palace guard was in a lift when the mine blew up ; the men working the pulleys fled, and left him suspended midway for nearly two hours, while every one was searching for him ; and "his friends imagined that having been at the bottom of the plot he had withdrawn himself from public observation." Military reinforcements were hurriedly summoned ; the soldiers dropped cartridges as they ran through the streets, and these were exploded by the wheels of passing carriages, increasing the panic and bewildering the police, who pounced upon the *drosky* of an unlucky English governess, and dragged her off to prison on the charge of having fired a pistol.

“The catastrophe” (Lord Dufferin wrote) “has thrown the whole city into a state of great consternation, more especially as it is reported that the Nihilists have warned General D—— that he need not take any pains to illuminate the town on the 19th, as a general conflagration of St. Petersburg will sufficiently celebrate the event. It is certain that many people, and amongst them a personal friend of my own, have received letters warning them to quit houses adjoining those occupied by obnoxious functionaries if they wish to escape the destruction to which these last are doomed. As, however, the government has got 60,000 troops in garrison in St. Petersburg and its neighbourhood, I cannot conceive there is any prospect of the public peace being disturbed.”

A fortnight later came the attempt to assassinate Count Melikoff, who had just been invested with unlimited executive authority. Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Dartrey—

“I saw Loris Milikoff within a few minutes after he had been shot at, and he showed me the hole in his coat where the bullet had grazed his spine. It was a very near thing. He was very much pleased when I observed that it was probably the first time his enemies had ever had a chance of aiming at that part of his body.”

At home, meanwhile, the vicissitudes of party warfare had become interesting. So early as in February 1879, the English press had been ventilating rumours of a vacancy in the Governor Generalship of India; and it was more than once announced, quite erroneously, that Lord Dufferin had been offered and had refused the appointment. To his friends in England Lord Dufferin wrote contradicting these statements, though he intimated that, if any such change were in contemplation, of which he had no sort of knowledge, the prospect of leaving Russia for India would not be distasteful to him.

Then came in March 1880 the general election, with a decisive majority against the Conservatives. On April 24 Lord Salisbury telegraphed to Lord Dufferin

the resignation of the Beaconsfield ministry, and Lord Granville succeeded to the Foreign Secretaryship.

Mr. Cashel Hoey writes to Lord Dufferin—

April 14, 1880.—"Ireland or India? *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* I know it will gratify you to know that no sooner was it seen that victory had really hovered back to the Liberal standard than your name rose naturally to men's lips for either Fort William or the Castle. I send you the *Spectator* which consigns you to the charge of the Emerald Gem, and the *Telegraph* which believes you are the only person fit to be trusted with the Koh-i-noor."

But the turn of political events in England disappointed these auguries. Mr. John Morley has given* a detailed account of the circumstances and arguments by which Mr. Gladstone was induced to reconsider the declaration made during his Mid-Lothian campaign—that he hoped the country's verdict would place Lord Granville and Lord Hartington at the head of a Liberal ministry. It now appeared that he would accept no place but the first in the new government. He had in fact changed his mind rather unexpectedly; whereupon it became necessary to revise ministerial arrangements that had been planned beforehand upon other calculations. There was some difficulty about providing offices for influential supporters, and in the eventual distribution Lord Cowper went to Ireland, while the Marquis of Ripon accepted the Governor Generalship of India. Lord Dufferin received from his friends at home positive assurances that he had in no way forfeited the confidence of the Liberals by having accepted an embassy from the Conservative government, that there "was not the smallest feeling" against him on that score, and that the value of his services in one of the most important posts in Europe was fully and universally appreciated. Nevertheless Lord Dufferin, writing confidentially to an intimate friend, did not conceal some feeling of disappointment.

* "Life of Gladstone," ii. pp. 616-631.

To Lady Dartrey, June 4, 1880—

"As nothing is more poor in politics than for a man to enlarge upon his personal grievances, it did not occur to me to mention the matter to you; but as you have touched upon the subject I do not mind saying in confidence that I should have thought my seven years in Canada, and the additional year I have spent here in keeping the peace between our Foreign Office and the Emperor, might have deserved a better reward than a further term of exile in an Arctic climate."

A letter from St. Petersburg, dated June 1880, describes a visit that he had just made to Moscow—

"Such a wonderful place! It far exceeded all my expectations. To add, moreover, to my delight, we found the new-born spring there in full feather, and really hot weather—a thing entirely unknown here.

"To me who am fond of architecture the Kremlin was an amazing delight, for it is the point where four distinct waves of architecture, converging from opposite points of the compass, have clashed up against each other into a spray of towers, minarets, pinnacles, and domes. Moreover, it is the only spot in Russia I have yet reached where one can persuade one's self that the country is anything better than an abortive kind of America. At Moscow at all events there are historical associations as well as an autoethnic vitality, instead of the European varnish which is the chief characteristic of St. Petersburg.

"The antique treasures stored up in the fortress in the shape of old silver, old carriages, and old armour would drive a collector mad, and I counted at least a dozen crowns worn by successive sovereigns during the last four centuries, each of which must have contained thousands of pounds' worth of precious stones. In addition the Russians have a mania for lavishing their diamonds and pearls upon the ecclesiastical images and vestments, and their churches blaze with coronets of jewels set round the black faces of their Byzantine saints and Madonnas.

"We climbed up innumerable towers, the view from each of which surpassed the preceding one in beauty. But what I enjoyed most was a drive to the Sparrow hills, a low range lying to the west of the city, and the spot from

which Napoleon first beheld the goal of his wearisome marches. An equally delightful trip was to an old convent on the opposite side overhanging the banks of the river. These convents are really fortresses with numerous bastions and picturesque towers which have often rolled back the tide of Tartar and Polish invasion. Within the enceinte there arises a crop of churches, each church being crowned with a central dome, and half a dozen minaret-like cupolas, glittering with gold or with all the colours of the rainbow in the spring sunshine."

To Lord Granville Lord Dufferin writes (August 12)—

"As long as the fate of the Irish Bill was uncertain I refrained from referring to it, for one should not balk a friend when he is riding at a big fence, but I confess I am heartily glad to have been out of the way on such an occasion. My sense of obligation to Mr. Gladstone in past years and my loyalty to the party would have been in the most disagreeable antagonism to my convictions on the subject, and though I recommended the only two people who consulted me to vote with you, I doubt if I could have done so myself."

In September 1880 Lord Dufferin again left St. Petersburg on leave to England.* Soon after his arrival he visited the Queen at Balmoral, and in October he crossed over with Lady Dufferin to Dublin, where, after some days' stay with the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Cowper, they went on to Clondeboyne. In November he was at Dublin giving evidence before the Land Commission, and afterwards in London he was examined by the Commission on Agricultural depression. His diary shows that at this time he was much occupied in discussing Irish affairs with the leaders of the Liberal party and others, and in

* "Lord Dufferin called at Cliveden on his return from Russia at the end of September. He is as delightful as ever; he gave an amusing account of his voyage by-steamers from Russia to Leith—the steamer a beautiful little craft; and he had to sleep on a shelf in a little hole of a cabin full of old cheeses. In the middle of the night he was pitched off this shelf, picked up by the fat wife of the steward, who was full of compassion, and who 'kissed the place to make it well.'"—Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower's "Reminiscences," p. 472.

writing the confidential memorandum that has been already mentioned. In December he returned to Russia, travelling by Paris and Berlin.

The English Foreign Office was now watching with increased attention the movements of General Skobelev in the Transcaspian region of Central Asia, which pointed toward an occupation of the Merv oasis, the headquarters and last refuge of the nomad Turkoman tribes, where the Russians would find water in the desert, and a commanding position much nearer to the Afghan frontier. To the anxiety which this advance caused in England and India the Duke of Argyll rather hastily gave the nickname of "Mervousness." It was already fairly evident to the experienced observer that whatever might be the protestations of the Russian ministers at the capital, and although their sincerity might be indisputable, the Russian generals in the field must sooner or later find their way to a place of which the possession was necessary to them strategically, and essential for the permanent pacification of the surrounding country. The Emperor of Russia had sent to the Queen of England his personal assurances that Skobelev's expedition would not be allowed to develop into an attack on Merv ; yet when this was mentioned by Lord Dufferin to a prominent politician at St. Petersburg, the Russian candidly observed that there was no saying where a general, once started in Central Asia, would be content to stop. In December 1879 a Russian force had been disastrously defeated by the Tekke Turkomans at Geoktepe, and to avenge this defeat, which had damaged Russia's military and political reputation among the tribes, an expedition against them was in fact unavoidable. Lord Dufferin believed, as he wrote to Lord Granville, that the Russians wished to do no more than was necessary for the vindication of their military honour ; but the ministers themselves confessed that Skobelev, when once let loose on the Turkomans, would be apt to take the bit between his teeth. Nor were their apprehensions unfounded. In January 1881 came news that the Turkoman stronghold

had been stormed by Skobelev, with great and indiscriminate slaughter of the tribesmen.

To Lord Granville he writes—

*“February 2, 1881.—*The great subject of interest this week has been the capture of Geok Tepe. Skobelev deserves as much credit for the diplomatic manner in which he has allowed the St. Petersburg world to become conversant with the incidents of the drama as for the achievement itself. First of all, for two or three days before the assault telegrams were despatched insisting on the difficulties of the situation, and conveying what almost amounted to a cry of distress. As a consequence every one here was thrown into a state of anxiety and suspense. Then came the announcement in laconic terms of the fall of the Turcoman stronghold after nine hours’ fighting, and an enormous loss on both sides. In the revulsion of triumph and gratitude the successful Commander is congratulated, decorated, and promoted; a Te Deum is sung, a salute of a hundred guns is fired from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, and flags are displayed at every window. Three or four days later the news oozes out that during the nine hours’ fighting only fifty Russian soldiers and two or three officers were killed; and that the chief factor in the discomfiture of the Tekkes was the explosion of a mine.

“Though the Russian loss was slight, the slaughter amongst the Turcomans must have been fearful. Milutine himself told me that four thousand dead bodies were counted within the enceinte of the fort alone, exclusive of those who had fallen in the various sorties and had been cut up in the pursuit.”

Although the Russian Foreign Office again declared that an advance upon Merv had been absolutely prohibited, the rapid subsequent extension eastward of the Russian dominion soon made the annexation of the Merv oasis no more than a question of time and opportunity. Some fair excuse, moreover, for pushing forward was found by the Russian Cabinet in the advanced position held at that moment by the English troops in Afghanistan. Each rival Power was insisting that the other must keep at a distance, yet every movement and

counter-movement lessened the space between them. Lord Dufferin was busily engaged in endeavouring to promote a settlement of this complicated situation in Central Asia, when he received notice of his transfer to Constantinople. He told Lord Granville that he should hold himself ready to leave at any time, and that he should prefer to do so at once, as there was just then a lull in affairs at St. Petersburg.

"I find it terribly tantalizing being so far from home, when so much that is specially interesting to me as an Irishman is going on in Parliament. Moreover, I have not been in London during the season for nine years, and I should now see all my friends."

Two days later this quiet surface was rent asunder by an earthquake.

Lord Dufferin had just returned to the embassy, after meeting and speaking with the emperor Alexander at a military parade.

"He was in very good spirits, and spoke to me a little longer than usual, talking about the Duchess of Edinburgh. After the parade I took off my uniform and was reading the newspaper, when all of a sudden I heard a violent report like that of a cannon. It immediately flashed across my mind that it might be a new *attentat*, and not long after they came running to tell me that a bomb had been exploded under the emperor's carriage, and that he had been wounded in the leg. I rushed off to the palace, arriving at the same time as the doctor and the priest. On going upstairs the Grand Duke Vladimir came out and told me that there was no hope."

From the account of the catastrophe that Lord Dufferin sent to the Foreign Office, it appears that the emperor was passing toward his palace through a street where two or three men were shovelling the snow, and others were standing by. He was in a close carriage—

"surrounded by his usual escort of eight or nine Cossacks, with a Police officer closely following him in a sleigh behind.

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Suddenly a bomb was thrown underneath the carriage, shattering it a good deal but not hurting the emperor. The coachman said he would be able to drive the emperor home, but his Majesty got out, perhaps in his concern for those of his escort who had been wounded. He was seen to cross himself, but immediately afterwards a second bomb was thrown which exploded at his feet, and not only shattered both legs, but wounded him in the lower part of the body. His Majesty was lifted into the sleigh of the officer following his carriage, and was thus conveyed to the palace apparently in a state of unconsciousness. Lord Dufferin reached the palace a very few minutes afterwards, arriving at the same time as a clergyman and the doctor."

Other particulars are added in a subsequent letter.
To Lord Granville, March 15, 1881—

"It was on his [the Emperor's] return home from this parade after having lunched with the Grand Duchess Catherine, that an attack was made upon him. If he had not got out of the carriage he would certainly have been saved, but he imagined all danger was over, and that the explosion had failed. He had been slightly wounded in the face, and was a good deal shaken by the first bomb, for on getting out of the carriage he leant on the arm of a Cossack, and asked him for his handkerchief to wipe the blood which was running down his cheek. The Cossack replied that his handkerchief was too dirty, but the Emperor said 'Never mind'; and in a second afterwards the other bomb exploded, the Cossack was killed on the spot, and the Emperor was mortally wounded."

In the general panic that prevailed for some days, a rumour that the cathedral would be blown up at the celebration of the emperor's funeral obsequies was widely credited. It was of course filled by all the official dignitaries and the foreign representatives: the ceremony lasted four hours, and Lord Dufferin, who was present, wrote that "the Nihilists might have cleared the European chess-board with a vengeance."

The Prince and Princess of Wales made the journey from England to be present at the funeral, and to invest

the emperor, Alexander III., on his accession, with the Order of the Garter. The investment, Lord Dufferin wrote, was "really a very striking ceremony. Though the company was small it was composed of very distinguished personages, and the quaint and novel features of the ceremony were an agreeable change from the gloomy pre-occupations and funeral services of the last fortnight."

To another correspondent he writes—

April 6, 1881.—"For the past fortnight I have been terribly busy. In the first place Greek affairs took up a good deal of my time, and then I had to look after the Prince and Princess of Wales. Their visit has gone off very well, and has been a great comfort to these poor people. The Princess returns to-morrow. I was all in favour of the Prince coming, and of bringing his wife too. I knew that the risk, though not absolutely nil (for no one can calculate upon what these fanatics will do), was almost inappreciable, and considering what near relations our Royalties now are to those in Russia, and the fact that all the other Princes of Europe were flocking to St. Petersburg, it would have looked very ill if a brother-in-law and sister had been deterred from coming by the fear of any personal risk. Consequently I telegraphed to the Queen in that sense, in spite of the responsibility. Her Majesty telegraphed back that she would hold me personally liable for any harm that might happen to either of them, which under the circumstances was not a very pleasant message.

"To-morrow we are to be received by the emperor. The town is full of stories of bombs, and mines, and explosions, and conspiracies to blow up everybody. The other day it was reported that a dog was heard howling on some small tenement near the great powder magazine. On breaking open the door they found the house destitute of any human inhabitant. They cut the string by which the dog was tied, and the animal at once ran off. But on further examination it was observed that the other end of the string led down through the floor. This excited suspicion, and on following the clue it was found to be attached to a detonating apparatus, the calculation being that the straining of the dog at his collar would pull the trigger. It appears, however, that instead of contending with fate,

the dog contented himself with howling, and so half St. Petersburg has been spared."

One of the prominent Russian statesmen, conversing ten days later with Lord Dufferin, said—

"That the present state of things was the logical consequence of the antecedent events of the last twenty years, that reforms were good, but that they had been hurried on so precipitately as to derange the social fabric. When the emperor went to war it became necessary to set on foot a Panslavist propagandism, and it was in the bosom of the morbid excitement thus artificially engendered that the Nihilistic conspiracy was born and nourished."

The new emperor, confined to his palace by police exigencies, and finding life at his capital intolerable, left suddenly and very privately for Gatschina. But "on driving out of the palace gates one of his carriage wheels stuck, and it was immediately supposed to be a Nihilistic device. The coachman was ordered to drive on at full speed notwithstanding the motionless wheel."

"I looked in" (Lord Dufferin writes) "at the trial of the Nihilists. One of the men was very distinguished looking, with a countenance of a high type. The others were merely moujiks, one woman a disreputable looking Jewess, and Peroffsky, the lady, a bosomless, sexless creature of the true Nihilistic type with a huge forehead, small intelligent eyes, and a hideous face."

From this atmosphere of terror and conspiracies, where the ground on which men were treading seemed to them volcanic—a treacherous crust overlying the fire beneath—Lord Dufferin was liberated by his recall to England, upon his transfer to the embassy at Constantinople. There was a grand *dejeuner* at the embassy in honour of the Prince and Princess of Wales; and on April 15 Lord and Lady Dufferin left the capital for London. In passing through Berlin Lord Dufferin spent an hour with Prince Bismarck, and in conversing with

him observed that one of his first duties on reaching Constantinople would be to deal with the Armenian question.

“ ‘Was that a subject,’ I asked, ‘that would engage his sympathies?’ He gave me to understand that it was one in regard to which Germany would feel no very great concern.”

They dined with the emperor and empress of Germany, departed next morning, halted at Frankfort and Darmstadt, reached London on a fine April morning, and “went to the play in the evening.”

In England they were cordially welcomed by innumerable friends, and found their days and nights fully occupied. Four days after their arrival Lord Dufferin attended Lord Beaconsfield’s funeral at Hughenden; and thenceforward his journal records many dinners and other social gatherings. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff notes in his Diary for May 1881, a meeting of the Breakfast Club at Lansdowne House.

“Dufferin, who is on his way through from Petersburg to Constantinople, surpasses himself, though his stories were perhaps just a shade too festive to write solemnly down here.”

Other entries are of interviews with official magnates and other persons of note, consultations at the Foreign Office, visits to the Queen at Windsor, to Lord Granville at Walmer, to the Duke of Somerset at Bulstrode. Between one appointment and the next, between long journeys from one continent or far country to another, Lord Dufferin’s intervals of breathing time at home were short enough—less than four months between the Canadian Governor Generalship and the Russian embassy, about six weeks between St. Petersburg and Constantinople. On June 4, after taking leave of the Prince and Princess of Wales, he left London with Lady Dufferin in the evening for Paris on their way to the Bosphorus.

APPENDIX.

Some recollections of service with Lord Dufferin at the St. Petersburg Embassy, which have been kindly communicated by Mr. R. J. Kennedy, are subjoined.

"LORD DUFFERIN, fresh from the scenes of his great administrative and social successes in Canada, threw himself into the performance of his Russian task with all his characteristic energy and optimistic brightness. The Embassy House, on the Quai Anglais, was newly decorated and re-furnished, and the establishment and stable were *montés* in a manner worthy of the British Ambassador at the Court of the Czar. The Office of Works, under pressure from Lord Dufferin, spent considerable sums in carrying out His Excellency's ideas; but when money supplies fell short, the Ambassador never hesitated to guarantee or to promise the funds himself. Before the end of the St. Petersburg season 1879-80, his Embassy was declared to be not 'une ambassade, mais une Cour.' The members of it were given to understand that if their duties in the Chancery were light, their social duties were numerous and important. Lord Dufferin once said in my hearing, in his own inimitably caressing manner: 'Before my arrival the young men of the Embassy were scarcely ever seen in a Russian drawing-room, but now there is scarcely a lady in society whose reputation is safe!'

"Although Lord Dufferin was appointed to St. Petersburg in the early summer of 1879 he did not permanently take up his residence in the Russian capital until the beginning of the winter season. His first official reception took place on December 30, 1879; it had been postponed, if my recollection is correct, on account of the precarious health of the Empress, who was very ill in the south of France, whence she came back to St. Petersburg only a few weeks before her death.

"In a private letter written home on December 31 I find the following passage: 'Last night was the official reception at the Embassy. Every one was in uniform; Lord Dufferin wore the scarlet swallow-tailed tunic and epaulettes of Lieutenant of County Down, the Riband and

Star of St. Patrick, and the Star of G.C.M.G. Lady Dufferin wore some splendid diamonds. To this reception four hundred and fifty people came, the cream of St. Petersburg society. The passage of guests lasted about two hours; both Lord and Lady Dufferin maintained their freshness and urbanity to the very end. Afterwards all the guests sat down to a splendid supper, at a number of small round tables in the dining-room, and then separated about 1 p.m. The reception was well-organized, and was a great success.

"I must not forget to say that the sideboard in the dining-room was covered with handsome plate, but what excited most attention and curiosity was a display of gold spurs and gold roses. I asked Lord Dufferin about them in order to satisfy the curiosity of many inquiries; and he told me that soon after he came of age he made over to Gawen Hamilton certain rights which he (Lord Dufferin) possessed over some lands, and the Castle at Killyleagh, amongst others the right of closing the main entrance against the owner of the Castle. In return for this concession the owner of Killyleagh is bound to hand every year to the "Lady of Clandeboye" a gold rose or a gold spur. The Russians were much interested in this almost feudal arrangement."

"During the tenure of his office as Ambassador at St. Petersburg Lord and Lady Dufferin put themselves *en quatre*, as the French say, in order to cultivate the best relations with the best Russian society; and in their efforts in this direction, which involved an endless round of afternoon visits, on an average half a dozen every afternoon, to say nothing of small and great evening receptions, balls, and attendances at gala and other representations at the Opera, the Theatre Français, and other places of public amusement, they were assiduously backed up by the staff of the Embassy. Skating and ice-hilling, in which Lord and Lady Dufferin's Canadian experience stood them in good stead, bear-shooting expeditions, in which several bears fell to Lord Dufferin's gun, and a round of dinners and balls at the Embassy, kept up the reputation of the British Embassy as the chief centre of social attraction during the winter of 1879-80. Three years after Lord Dufferin left St. Petersburg a Russian lady in a letter to me mentioned the departure of one of the secretaries of the British Embassy, adding that 'C'est le dernier membre

qui nous restait de cette brillante ambassade à laquelle vous étiez autrefois attaché.'

"In a letter written during that summer I said: 'Lord Dufferin talks of getting up a covered-in racquet or tennis court for the winter: it certainly would be a great boon. He enjoyed a week's visit to my little country house at Ligovo, and said he had never been so happy in all his life! He used to paint and sketch all day in the garden, and in the evening we used to ride, sometimes going to dinner at houses five or six miles off, and returning at 11.30 or midnight, when it was still broad daylight! He was full of interesting conversation and information, and the last evening he spent with me he remarked: "We shall remember these long Russian days in future years, when you and I are sitting by the fireside at Clancloffe wrapped in flannel."

"Last Saturday we all attended at the Church of the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul to witness the translation of the body of the Emperor. The Emperor was dressed in a white uniform, that of the "Chevaliers Gardes." Around him were all the crowns of departed Emperors, including the magnificent crown of Russia, of the value of £80,000, and the sceptre with the great Orloff diamond, valued at £250,000, whilst each on a separate cushion of cloth of gold were his seventy-five orders and decorations.'

"Lord Dufferin left St. Petersburg with Lady Dufferin about April 15, 1881, for London, *en route* for Constantinople, and the railway station was crowded with the leading members of Russian society, of the *corps diplomatique*, and of the English colony, to bid God-speed to the departing ambassador and ambassadress. The railway compartment reserved for them was filled with choice presentation bouquets, the one presented by a deputation from the Chevaliers Gardes regiment, the smartest regiment in the Russian army, being undoubtedly the choicest.

"Thus ended Lord Dufferin's short but brilliant mission to Russia, where he left many friends who still preserve an affectionate recollection of his untiring and successful efforts to remove all traces of ill feeling and soreness against England. But though Lord Dufferin, I believe, carried away many pleasant memories of his St. Petersburg days, it would be idle to pretend that he regretted exchanging the banks of the Neva for the shores of the Bosphorus.

The ordinary routine of diplomatic life was uncongenial to one whose great and varied talent lay chiefly in the administrative line, who required hard and constant work as an outlet for his unbounded energy, and whose two years at St. Petersburg may be looked upon merely as a pleasant and brilliant interlude in his great career."

CHAPTER IX.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

JUNE 28, 1881.*—"Here we are; and at last I have breathing time to write you a letter.

"We came to this place *viâ* the Mont Cenis tunnel and Venice, and then on by the Government ship down the Adriatic, calling in at Argostoli in Cephalonia, where I found Sir Beauchamp Seymour. On reaching the Dardanelles we paid a visit to the fort, and were introduced to the two enormous guns which throw stone balls like those you see at the doorsteps of country houses. Indeed I have four of them at Clandeboye.

"We did not stop at Constantinople, but came straight on to Therapia. The Embassy at Therapia is a real Palace, built close to the water's edge, and facing the mouth of the Black Sea, through which the north wind perpetually blows in summer as through a funnel.

"On Tuesday last I had my first audience with the Sultan. We went down to Pera in a steam yacht which is kept at the ambassador's disposal, with a suite of nearly thirty persons. The Sultan's carriages, well horsed, harnessed, and driven with an escort, outriders and runners on foot, were waiting to take us up to the Kiosk or summer palace where he now resides. It is beautifully situated on a hill surrounded by a large park, in which he can both shoot and ride. I found His Majesty standing by himself at the far end of the room, a small man with a dark beard, soft eyes, and a gentle manner. I read him a speech in French to which his Minister for Foreign Affairs read a reply in Turkish. The Sultan then suggested that we should both retire and rest after so great an exertion, be-

* Letter to Lady Dartrey.

fore having the private interview to which he desired to invite me. . . .

"The next day I was invited to dinner. We were asked for 7 o'clock, *i.e.* sunset. We were the first to arrive, and were soon joined by a number of Pashas, though a good half hour passed before dinner was announced. . . . We then went in to dinner, the Sultan sitting at the head of the table with a considerable interval on either side of him. Then I came on his right, and Said Pasha his Prime Minister on his left. There were about five and thirty guests. During the whole of the dinner Munir Bey, the first chamberlain, who acts as interpreter and speaks excellent French, stood beside the Sultan in his stars and ribbon, and conducted the conversation between us, touching his breast, his lips, and his forehead at every sentence the Sultan spoke. Except the Sultan nobody spoke during the meal, and he only in a low voice. . . .

"After dinner the Sultan, I, Munir Bey the interpreter, and my own dragoman retired to another room, and I had a talk with His Majesty for a couple of hours. After this was over, he said he would like to introduce his Pashas to me, and accordingly they were all brought in, huddling together in a corner of the room—these great men in their splendid uniforms and diamond orders. The Sultan then pointed out each to me in turn. . . . When he gave them the signal to retire they all backed out with the usual Oriental obeisance. Shortly afterwards I took my leave."

The trial of Midhat Pasha for complicity in the supposed murder of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz was now going on. The procedure was admitted by a high Turkish official to be a parody of justice, and the evidence "insufficient to hang a cat;" but an acquittal on a charge of regicide did not fall in with the judicial principles of the reigning Sultan, and Midhat Pasha, while in power as Vazir, had been an active Liberal reformer. When a capital sentence had been pronounced, Lord Dufferin pressed the Sultan to use clemency, with the result that through British mediation it was commuted to rigorous imprisonment for three years at Taif in Arabia, where after a decent interval the unfortunate Pasha was quietly strangled.

In a letter sent home by Lord Dufferin in December

1881, we have an animated description of the annual commemoration at Constantinople of a tragic incident famous in the annals of Islam.

“ Last week the Persians here gave a great religious ceremony in honour of Hussein, a great grandson of Mahomet, who, having raised claims to the Caliphate, was overpowered and slain by far superior forces of the reigning Caliph in the year 679. Ever since he has been regarded as a martyr by the Persians. On reaching the great square which constitutes the inner court of the Persian Khan soon after sunset, we found the whole place illuminated with lamps and torches and ball fires, while a procession intended to represent the return of Hussein’s family to Medina after his murder, was marching round it. First came a number of men beating their breasts with a rhythmic motion, so as to produce a succession of ‘ thuds ’ which might have been heard a mile off. After these followed the horses of the martyr bearing his blood-stained armour. Then came a throng of Dervishes lacerating their bare backs with steel whips, followed by two rows of infuriated fanatics, dressed in white shirts and armed with naked swords. They walked sideways in two linked lines facing each other, and at every step they gashed their skulls and foreheads with their swords until the blood streamed down in torrents over their faces, necks, and white garments. Many of them became a red mass of gore, some of them fainted, and from some their swords had to be taken, so desperate were the slashes they gave themselves. The smell of blood filled the air, and the shouts and gestures of the Mollahs and priests who walked up and down between the two rows, still further excited their madness. I could not have believed in such a sight had I not seen it.”

After an interval of twenty years, dating from his Syrian Commission, Lord Dufferin found himself again in the midst of the turbid and chaotic politics of the Osmanli empire. The establishment of an Asiatic sovereignty in Europe and on the shores of the Mediterranean, ruling over large Christian populations, was, and still is, one of the most important and far-reaching events of the world’s history ; it obliterated and put back for centuries the civilization of south-eastern Europe and

of Asia Minor ; and it has engendered interminable discord and jealousies among the European governments. From the time of the Crusades every successive attempt to dislodge the Mahomedan Power in the Levant and on the Bosphorus has been frustrated by the conflicts of designs and interests that divided the Christians ; and though in the war of 1876-77, Russia drove backward the outworks of Turkish dominion, the Sultan's throne at Constantinople remains unshaken.

In 1881 the Cabinets of Europe were still disputing over details in the execution of the political awards pronounced by the Berlin Congress ; and Lord Dufferin's removal from St. Petersburg to Constantinople merely transferred him from one to the other cardinal point on the arena of diplomatic controversy. His immediate business was to supervise the demarcation, in accordance with the Berlin treaty, of the new frontier assigned to Greece, and to extort from the Sultan some beginning of the reforms which he was pledged by his convention with England to introduce into his administration of Asia Minor. It need hardly be said that in this latter undertaking his efforts were completely unsuccessful : he was foiled by the apathy of the Sublime Porte, and by the " absolute indifference to the subject " exhibited by all his diplomatic colleagues, who confined themselves to assuring him that he had their friendly sympathy, and full liberty to do what he could. From the Russian ambassador alone ~~he~~ he obtained some attention to the scheme of reforms which he prepared and placed before the Turkish government. But when Lord Dufferin demanded that a Commissioner, empowered to superintend the reforming measures, should be sent into Armenia, the Turks, having ascertained that no other Power but England was taking the matter seriously, easily contrived to defeat the whole project. And the Armenian massacres of 1898 have since proved sufficiently the utter futility of such conventions.

Moreover, Lord Dufferin had barely time to look round him after taking office at Constantinople, before

the clouded aspect of Egyptian affairs overshadowed all other difficulties, presaging fresh complications in a new quarter which directly and materially affected English interests. In Egypt, where the Sultan's authority had for centuries been nominal, it had latterly been the policy of England to uphold the rule of an independent Viceroy, who kept open the straight road to India ; and so long as the country was governed by a vigorous dynasty our views and purposes were satisfied. When the construction of the Suez Canal threw open a waterway through the isthmus, England, as the chief maritime and commercial nation, became more than ever concerned in maintaining this policy ; while on the other hand the immense loans contracted by Egypt gave European financiers a stake in the country, increased the traditional interest of France in Egypt, and drew Germany into connexion with its affairs. No Oriental ruler ever swallowed the golden hook of European money-lenders without fatal consequences to his independence ; and in 1879 Ismail Pasha, who had borrowed and spent with equal prodigality, was floundering in the financial net, which was being gradually tightened by astute and imperious creditors. In this desperate situation he resorted to the device of proclaiming himself a constitutional ruler, with the hope of reassuring or appeasing Europe by this parody of liberal reforms ; and he next proceeded to decree a financial settlement in violation of his engagements, and to dismiss the Controllers set by France and England over his treasury to secure the due payment of the public debt. As he was unable, in fact, to disgorge the hook, he made a bold effort to snap the line ; whereupon he was instantly hauled ashore. His Highness was deposed by the French and English governments, and Prince Tewfik was brought in to reign in his stead.

But repeated experiments of this kind have established one unvarying result. An Oriental ruler placed on his throne by European interference has a very precarious seat ; he is sure to be unpopular, for he must

lean on the foreigners who set him up ; and he is likely to be incapable, for his ability to govern has never been tried, while under European superintendence it never gets a fair trial. The army is his chief mainstay, but also his perpetual danger ; because all Oriental armies mutiny sooner or later, and a weak and unpopular administration gives ambitious soldiers their opportunity. It is a sound political maxim that anything can be done with bayonets, except sitting down upon them ; if they are a ruler's only stay his seat is uncomfortable and precarious. In Egypt military insubordination soon appeared, and it spread until a revolt broke out which Ismail, who with all his faults understood Eastern statecraft, would have suppressed with a rough hand, but with which Prince Tewfik was quite incapable of coping. He was regarded as the tool of foreigners, and in this emergency foreign officials could not help him ; their efforts only increased his unpopularity. After one abortive attempt to assert his authority, all real power passed into the grasp of the mutinous officers, whose leader was Arabi Bey.

The military movement had begun with demands, in themselves reasonable enough, made by some of the leading colonels for army reform. They were summoned to the War Office in Cairo and there arrested ; but they were immediately rescued by their soldiers ; and after this trial of strength between the Khedive and his army no reconciliation was in fact possible ; for the officers believed, with good reason, that their lives were at stake, and the weakness of the government had been disclosed. Other ominous incidents followed, until the Khedive became thoroughly alarmed and took stronger measures for asserting his authority ; while the colonels on their side organized a formidable military demonstration. Arabi Bey, after surrounding the palace with troops, demanded the dismissal of the ministry and a representative constitution for Egypt. The Khedive, brought face to face with armed mutineers, lost heart, yielded, and thenceforward the mastery and command of his

army passed into the hands of Arabi Bey. This was in September 1881. When the news reached Constantinople it created much excitement ; and all parties began to calculate how their respective interests might be affected by an Egyptian revolution. The Sultan, discerning an opportunity for recovering his authority over an independent province, was inclined to despatch a Turkish force to restore order and to proclaim a constitution, which might serve as a convenient temporary screen for ulterior measures of another sort. He had been called in, as the Sovereign, to dismiss one Khedive at the bidding of Europe, and to nominate a successor, whom he now desired to remove in his own interests ; nor was it altogether easy to explain to him why the precedent was this time inapplicable.

Lord Dufferin dissuaded him from sending troops ; and as for the constitution he hinted that the Sultan's ardour for administrative reforms might find scope at home. The French government, to whom any revival of Osmanli influence in North Africa would have been exceedingly distasteful, on account of their possessions in Algiers and their protectorate in Tunis, were even more strenuously opposed than the English to the despatch of Turkish troops or even of a Turkish envoy to Cairo. Austria, Germany, and Russia stood aside, though German views were suspected to be not unfavourable to the Sultan's designs, as Prince Bismarck might have no objection to anything likely to create embarrassments for France.

Lord Odo Russell wrote to Lord Dufferin from Berlin—

October 3, 1881.—"We are told here that—ever since the Sultan wrote to the German Emperor, as the most disinterested of his tormentors, for advice and protection, and the Emperor consented to send him half a dozen or more German officials to reform his administration—His Ottoman Majesty has never ceased to seek advice at the German embassy ; but that Prince Bismarck seldom answers, and if he does, it is to say that he agrees with, and gives his moral support to, the united wishes or advice of England and France."

Eventually the Sultan had his way so far that two envoys were deputed from Constantinople to Cairo, in spite of remonstrance from the French and English ambassadors ; but on the other hand two warships were sent by France and England to Alexandria, notwithstanding a protest from the Sultan.

For some months, up to the end of 1881, there was a lull on the surface of current affairs in Egypt ; and Lord Dufferin wrote from Constantinople that they appeared to have settled down quietly for the moment, adding, however—

“ But people assure me that the calm is only momentary, and that further troubles are brewing. The system we are maintaining there is naturally a very artificial one, and its success depends upon the maintenance of a very unstable equilibrium.”

A letter from Cairo, written to Lord Dufferin by an Englishman long resident in the East, gives a concise and trustworthy description of the state of Egyptian affairs in November 1881, and explains its perilous instability—

“ I take this opportunity of offering to your Lordship a few observations on the present state of affairs in Egypt.

“ During the many years that I spent in Syria, I never once felt the slightest alarm for the safety of myself and family ; but I must confess that pending the present unsettled state of affairs in Egypt, I do not feel the same confidence.

“ The events of the past eight months have doubtless been duly reported to your Lordship, how a revolted army, led by three or four Egyptian Colonels, have made a series of armed demonstrations in support of their demands for certain concessions, all of which have been accorded to them.

“ Some time ago my wife visited some Turkish ladies, one of whom, the wife of a Turkish officer, explained that so long as the power remained in the hands of these Egyptian troops, no Turkish officer's life was safe, and that when her husband was absent from home, at the barracks or else—

where on duty, she was in fear and trembling until she saw him return. At that time the regiments quartered at distances of three or four miles apart, had posted a number of their men disguised as peasants or otherwise, in order to keep up a constant communication along the roads leading from one barracks to another and to give the alarm in case of any untoward event happening to either of their chosen officers.

"From that time until now all power has been virtually in their hands: the Khedive and his ministers, commanding no other force to oppose them, have granted everything that has been demanded.

"On the 9th of September the army, still led by the three Colonels, marched to the Palace of Abdin, and peremptorily demanded the dismissal of the Riaz ministry, the constitution of a chamber of delegates, the restoration of the former Prefect of Police, and the increase of the Egyptian army. With the exception of the latter, all these points were conceded to them.

"When Cherif Pasha accepted the office of Prime Minister, he stipulated that the three regiments should be separated, and they consented to go, one to Damietta, and one to Wady near Zagazig.

"When Ahmed Bey Arabi, Colonel of the regiment ordered to encamp at Wady, arrived at the town of Zagazig, he was received by the people of that town like a conqueror or a dictator; bouquets and addresses were presented to him, and he was called the 'Regenerator of liberty in Egypt.'

"Quite latterly the army has clamoured for the release of a certain Enani Bey who was in prison as a fraudulent bankrupt, by sentence of the legal tribunals. The Ministry summoned a special council to consider the demand, and acceded to it. They have applied for the change of the Sheikh of the native University, the mosque of El Azhar. M. Laffon, Editor of *L'Egypte*, was a few days ago obliged to leave this country on account of a decision of the Ulemas that he deserved death for the publication of an unguarded sentence in one of the paragraphs of his newspaper.

"The pan-Islamic movement in Egypt, of which the Ulemas and the military officers are the leaders, has doubtless been created by the general feeling of resentment to the French aggression in Tunis, and a fear lest a similar European crusade should extend to Egypt.

"... Should the present state of uneasiness continue and develop into any serious outrages, a foreign occupation will probably be necessary, and this would be the signal for a massacre and pillage such as we have witnessed elsewhere and which I hope never to see in Egypt. I think that any kind of joint occupation by France and England would be provocative of very serious disturbances and of fresh complications, and should therefore be avoided.

"The great Mehemet Aly had his army composed of Turks, Albanians, and Egyptians, and never allowed an Egyptian to rise to a higher rank than that of captain in the army. Thus if one body were disaffected, he could bring it to reason by means of another. But now all the Egyptian army is native, even to the officers of the highest grades, and they can only be put down by means of another force, which does not exist in the country.

"The most reasonable solution of the difficulty seems to be one which may send Egypt many years back in her progress to independence, but even this would be better than the continuance of a military mob in power. I mean the occupation of the country by 10,000 Turkish troops, who should be distinctly placed under the orders of the Egyptian government, and should first disband the present Egyptian army and then occupy their posts until some other permanent solution of the difficulty be decided upon."

But the government at Constantinople was then hardly in a condition to warrant reliance on its undertaking to restore order at Cairo. Upon this subject Lord Dufferin wrote in October 1881 to a correspondent—

"I must thank you for your kind words of sympathy and encouragement. I assure you they are very much needed, for in all my life I have never found myself in the presence of so many difficulties. The administration of this country is completely at a standstill. There is no money at Constantinople, and no security for life or property anywhere. The Sultan insists upon doing everything himself, and the Porte has become a *nominis umbra*. There is consequently no one with whom to negotiate, or to whom one can address a demand. As to our notes they might just as well be put into the waste-paper basket as sent to the Foreign Minister.

"The labour of controlling such an Empire as this, even

if it were in apple-pie order, would keep a dozen ministers busy, but for one human being to undertake the superintendence of such a chaos is madness, and must end in disaster. Ever since my arrival I can see a change for the worse. At this moment there are 2400 affairs on the Register of the Council of Ministers awaiting a solution. The sense of the hopelessness of their task seems to have rendered the Government callous to all remonstrance on the part of the Embassies against the delays in the settlement of the various matters of business we are pressing upon the attention of the Porte."

In November he wrote again—

"I really do not know what is to be the end of this personal autocracy of the Sultan's. It is bringing the Empire into a state of greater disorganization than ever. Brigandage is becoming equally rampant both in Europe and in Asia, and the whole administration is at a deadlock. I perceive that some of the ministers would be very glad if Europe could do something to put an end to so intolerable a *régime*. It has sometimes occurred to me, if the Powers could be brought seriously to move in the matter, that a united representation on the subject might bring the Sultan into a more reasonable line of conduct; for the relations of the Ambassadors with the Porte have become simply farcical. We all know that any serious communication we may make to the Ministers is as void as though it had been confided to the winds, and that any undertaking they give us is merely provisional, and liable to be nullified by their Master's caprice or inattention."

With regard to the position of Egyptian affairs at the end of January 1882, Lord Dufferin wrote to Sir William Gregory—

"I have been watching as closely as one can do at this distance the course of events at Cairo. Affairs still seem to be in a state of 'unstable' equilibrium, and it is not pleasant to reflect that if a crash should come our position would be one of the greatest embarrassment. If we got mixed up in a squabble with France as a partner it would be sure to end in a quarrel between us. All my instincts are with the national party in Egypt. First of all, I love

the country. I never spent a happier five months than when I went up the Nile with my mother. I devoted myself to ancient Egyptian literature, and to this day I have always a book of hieroglyphics on hand. The people were intended by Providence to remain happy and contented in their isolated valley. They ought to be the most easily governed community in the world, as well as the best off and most contented; and if once we could get anything like self-government started upon anything like a secure basis in Egypt, it might prove a beginning for the establishment of a better system of administration in other parts of the Mussulman world."

The situation indeed could hardly have been expected to last long without some fresh stirring of the military party, which had overawed the Khedive and was virtually master in the country. The French and English governments, at any rate, seem to have concluded that there were grounds for serious uneasiness, for after consultations between Lord Granville and the French premier, Monsieur Gambetta, they issued * an Identic Note announcing their determination to guard by their united efforts against all cause of complications, internal or external, which might menace the order of things established in Egypt. This step has been generally condemned as ill-timed and injudicious, because the threat of intervention irritated the Sultan, and startled the Egyptians as portending the occupation of their country by foreign troops. Yet one may doubt whether it was more than slightly premature; for a violent revolution was clearly imminent, and nothing but force could stop it. The Khedive had now little more than nominal authority in the midst of ambitious and turbulent men. Arabi Bey had become Under Secretary for War; and the policy of the National party, as it was called, was to stimulate the animosity, religious and political, of the Egyptians against Europeans, and to interrupt the financial control that had been established by formal conventions. But unquestionably the publication of the

* January 1882.

Note accelerated the course of events, increased the popularity of Arabi Bey, who was now the most influential personage at the capital, and confirmed the revolutionary leaders in their determination to resist a foreign intervention which would be inevitably fatal to their plans. Three weeks after the issue of the Identical Note came the fall of Gambetta's ministry; and under his successor the policy of joint intervention, by France and England, in Egyptian affairs was virtually abandoned. So soon as this became known at Cairo, the military party took fresh courage. In May 1882, when Arabi Bey's attitude had become manifestly alarming, the English and French agents required the Khedive to dismiss him; but he was immediately restored in office by a menacing demonstration of the notables and the army, who were now fiercely antagonistic to all foreign interference. The Khedive was powerless, and a dangerous commotion was imminent. In this emergency a Conference of the European Powers, represented by their ambassadors, was convened at Constantinople to deliberate upon measures for terminating the crisis. The announcement of this resolution was by no means agreeable to the Sultan, who now hoped that in the general confusion he might recover possession of Egypt; and for the purpose of asserting his sovereign prerogative he despatched a Commissioner to Cairo.

This brief summary of the course of events in Egypt has been thought necessary, in order that Lord Dufferin's position at Constantinople, and the transactions which led to his subsequent mission to Egypt, might be clearly understood.

The meeting of the Conference was delayed by opposition from the Sultan, who persisted in declaring that his Commissioner would settle Egyptian troubles effectively. Lord Dufferin's instructions were to obtain from his colleagues a general assent to the proposal that Turkish troops should be sent to Egypt for the purpose of suppressing the revolt against the Khedive's authority, but under strict limitations in regard to their employment.

The Sultan objected to this latter stipulation, which he thought would place his army under the control of the European Powers ; but he had begun to perceive that the triumph of the National party, led by Arabi Bey, might annihilate the last semblance of his sovereignty over Egypt, and that the secession of Egypt would be fatal to his authority in Arabia. On the other hand, the French representatives at the Conference hesitated seriously over the British proposal. The presence of Turkish troops in Egypt might give the Osmanli power a fresh foothold in North Africa, with the effect of reviving and encouraging disquietude among Mahomedans in Tunis, which France had just occupied, and in Algeria. Lord Dufferin's position, therefore, was in some respects similar to that in which he had found himself twenty years earlier in Syria : his business was to manage the Turks and conciliate the French.

Toward the end of June he wrote—

“ Even when the Conference does meet, I am afraid we shall find great difficulty in reaching a suitable agreement in regard to any of the points indicated in my instructions.

“ During the last fortnight the question of the despatch of Turkish troops to Egypt has passed into a new phase. Of course the Sultan is anxious to exhibit his military supremacy at Cairo ; but Mahomedan opinion is becoming almost too strong for him. Arabi Pasha is now regarded, even at Constantinople, as a hero and champion of Islam ; and Dervish Pasha's account of the way in which the Turks are hated in Egypt and of the united front with which Turkish intervention would be opposed by the National party, has daunted the Sultan, whose natural bent it is to gain his ends rather by conciliation than by force. We can therefore no longer count upon the readiness of the Turks to move in the desired direction.”

Moreover Austria and Germany looked coldly, if not with open disfavour, upon the project of allowing the Turks to intervene with troops ; so that Lord Dufferin received little support on any side.

In these circumstances the proceedings of the Con-

ference were at first slow and indecisive. "What is wanted in Egypt" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is immediate action;" and he expedited conclusions by warning the Sultan that, if nothing were done, he might find "an Arabian caliph reigning over an independent Egypt;" while in July, when the British fleet was before Alexandria, the Sultan was informed by him that the Admiral had orders to knock down the forts and batteries, if the military preparations for resistance were not discontinued. Finally, however, after prolonged discussion, the Conference agreed upon presenting to the Sultan an Identic Note, inviting him to assist the Khedive by despatching to Egypt a force sufficient to re-establish order and subdue the faction that had usurped domination in the country. But the military convention under which Turkish troops were to land in Egypt, placed them under strict surveillance as to the objects, methods, and period of occupation; and from these conditions, which the Sultan held to be incompatible with his dignity, he persistently withheld his consent.

Two cardinal points had now been fixed by the Conference as the basis of their proceedings, upon which their future course should be regulated. In the first place, the Sultan had been requested to interpose authoritatively and effectively, but to do so only as an executor of the mandate of the European Powers. Secondly, all measures were to be settled by the Powers in concert, with the important reservation, proposed originally by the Italian ambassador, of cases of *force majeure*, of unexpected incidents—that is to say—when military exigencies would necessarily supersede all other considerations. The Suez Canal might be seized by the insurgents, and recent riots at Alexandria had shown that the lives and property of Europeans in Egypt were most insecure; the Sultan's Commissioner had effected nothing at Cairo, and had written that without troops the Khedive was helpless. Meantime the rapid current of events had already brought *force majeure* into requisition; for on July 11, three days before the Identic Note

was presented to the Sultan by the Conference, the British fleet had bombarded the forts at Alexandria ; the French fleet had been recalled ; Alexandria was occupied by British troops, and the Khedive had placed himself under the protection of the British admiral. Lord Dufferin at once urged upon the Sultan the necessity of issuing a Proclamation in support of the Khedive and denouncing Arabi Pasha as a rebel. But the Sultan objected that Tewfik Pasha was an illegitimate and incompetent usurper, whose accession he had not sanctioned, and whose rulership it would be preferable to terminate rather than to confirm.

On the other hand, Arabi Pasha had telegraphed to the Sultan directly, protesting his fidelity to the suzerainty. He added, however, that

“having been provoked into a war he was in possession of all that was necessary to get the better of his enemies ; and that he did not believe that, as the enemies of the country and religion asserted, he should encounter Ottoman troops on his path, which would place him in the cruel necessity of treating as enemies his brethren in the faith.”

Lord Dufferin concluded a long interview with the Sultan by intimating that if His Majesty's inaction were prolonged, the settlement of the Egyptian difficulties might pass altogether out of his hands. Then followed, in rapid succession, the determination of the British government to send an expedition to Egypt, with or without the co-operation of other Powers ; their invitation to France and Italy to join in the protection of the Canal ; the refusal of the French Chamber to grant the money necessary for the despatch of French troops ; and the landing in Egypt of the British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley. By this time the Foreign Minister of the Osmanli government, who had joined the Conference, had accepted in principle the military convention ; but in spite of Lord Dufferin's repeated warnings, the Sultan persevered in requiring modifications of the conditions under which his troops were to occupy Egypt, and even

demanded that on their arrival the European contingents should be withdrawn. There was here in fact an irreconcilable conflict of views and intentions ; for the Sultan desired liberty to settle the Egyptian question in his own fashion and in the interests of his own sovereignty, while the European Powers were materially concerned in preventing any reappearance of the Turkish dominion in North Africa. The British government had now assumed the predominance over the conduct of affairs that necessarily fell to the only Power which had determined upon action : the Conference had suspended their meetings, and thenceforward the negotiations were between the Sultan and the British ambassador directly. The former was dilatory and evasive, endeavouring to gain ground by impracticable suggestions and inadmissible amendments to the military convention ; the latter vainly urged His Majesty by advice, arguments, exhortations, and warnings to comply with the unalterable terms upon which the European Powers had agreed to invite and to sanction his authoritative intervention in Egypt.

On September 12 Lord Dufferin writes that each successive cause of delay in signing the Convention had emanated from the Turks ; and that " what the Sultan cannot bear is that I should require his promises to be put on paper and signed by his Ministers, though it would be madness not to have them recorded."

On September 15 the Sultan sent for Lord Dufferin to meet the Turkish Foreign Minister at his Palace, and spent eleven hours in attempting to introduce alterations into the clauses of the Convention, to which his Ministers had agreed. The Proclamation against Arabi Pasha had at last appeared, though with some unauthorized changes of the settled text, which His Majesty defended with great argumentative persistency.

But on that same day all the diplomatic knots which Lord Dufferin had for months been endeavouring to disentangle were effectually cut by the sword. On September 15 Sir Garnet Wolseley had routed Arabi's army

at Tel-el-Kebîr, and the English were masters in Egypt. Lord Granville telegraphed to the ambassador that since the insurrection had been crushed, he presumed that the Sultan would not consider it necessary to send his troops; and Lord Dufferin was instructed to drop all further negotiations.

An Englishman in high authority at Cairo wrote to Lord Dufferin—

October 5, 1882.—"Critics may say what they please as to the task which we have accomplished having been an easy one. It only became easy through the masterly manner in which it was done. The night advance on Tel-el-Kebîr was a wonderful military feat—10,000 men had to march nine miles and to be at a given point in their proper places at a fixed moment, with nothing to guide them but the stars and no word to be spoken above a whisper. At the appointed time they were all within three hundred yards of the work, and the fire once opened they poured in on three sides. Sir Garnet Wolsley said to Sir John Adye on the previous night, 'We shall lose five hundred men.' The actual number of killed and wounded was 480."

The following anecdote is taken from one of Lord Dufferin's letters to Lord Ripon, then Viceroy of India—

December 12, 1882.—"After the English troops had stormed the Egyptian lines and advanced far beyond them, some of the men returned to their original position. On their way back they came across an elderly Arab lying on his stomach with a heap of empty cartridges beside him, and firing away at a high elevation. Some one hit him a crack on the back and asked him what he meant by what he was doing, upon which he replied with some irritation, 'I don't in the least know who you are, I am blind,' and wanted to return to his original occupation of shooting imaginary foes."

Lord Ripon replied—

"Is not your story of the sightless Egyptian somewhat symbolical of the situation you have to deal with, of which

a blind fanaticism intent only on getting rid of the 'infidel' is one of the main elements ?”

In the midst of this political turmoil Lord Dufferin found time for organizing a regatta on the Bosphorus.

“ We had the lifeboats down from the Black Sea, and the men-of-war belonging to the several embassies furnished a fine array both of sailing and rowing boats. But the prettiest sight of all was the race between the embassy ten-oared caiques. They are splendid boats with high gilded poops and long prows, and the rowers being dressed in white, red, and gold, look very brilliant. Our caique won, closely pursued by the Persian. The regatta concluded with a greasy pole hung out like a bowsprit over the water underneath our windows with a pig at the end of it.

“ I have had a little steel yacht sent out to me from England which is the delight of my life, as I am able to get away in her by myself from all the pestering troubles that beset me on shore. Escaping from my Pashas, I explore the blue nooks and crannies of the Bosphorus in perfect peace and solitude. . . .

“ My yachting is of a very humble kind. It should rather be called boat sailing, but then the joy of it is in handling the ship one's self, for I never take a man with me, though sometimes a lady. Indeed I gave Lady Dufferin a week's cruise—she and I alone—in the sea of Marmora.”

“ I congratulate you ” (wrote Lord Kimberley) “ on your brilliant campaign, in which you have covered yourself with glory.” And unquestionably Lord Dufferin well deserved the applause and general congratulations which he received for his management of the complicated transactions that preceded the victory at Tel-el-Kebîr. At Constantinople he had to deal with an irresolute and distrustful ruler, to persuade him into moving, and yet to restrain his movements ; he had to bring his diplomatic colleagues, representing diverse views and interests, into agreement upon some definite plan of action for meeting an important emergency, while in England his own government were working upon no firmly pre-determined lines : they were led by

the pressure of circumstances along the path and to the consummation that their chief had strenuously endeavoured to avoid. In these circumstances Lord Dufferin's steadfastness and circumspection, the address with which he wound his way round obstacles, overcoming susceptibilities, equivocations, and evasions, were of signal service to his country. His indefatigable vigilance and industry are attested by the long series of letters and telegrams which he sent almost daily to the British Foreign Office during the period when the central point and focus of the Egyptian difficulty lay at Constantinople. Yet though the value of his services was amply appreciated at the time, the methods and manner of his diplomacy have been considerably misunderstood. He is supposed to have encouraged adroitly the delays and ambiguous hesitation of the Sultan, when he was really doing his best to overcome them; and although up to nearly the last moment he was pressing the Sultan to a decision, he has been praised for outmanœuvring the Turkish government by keeping matters in suspense until the success of the British arms had terminated all these diplomatic controversies at a blow.

Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, who was present in Constantinople at the time, has placed this matter in the proper light *—

“ There is a false idea abroad that Lord Dufferin's great services to his government consisted simply in prolonging the negotiations. Such a service would not have entitled him to much credit, for any second-rate diplomatist can prolong negotiations indefinitely when his opponent is not in a position to crush him by an ultimatum. What Lord Dufferin really did, and what justly advanced him to the very first rank of living diplomatists, was this—By a happy combination of sound judgment, resolute action, and consummate tact, he contrived to secure for his government, so far as the Conference was concerned, complete liberty of action without wounding the susceptibilities of any Foreign Power; and by watchfulness, acuteness, and dex-

* “ Egypt and the Egyptian Question,” pp. 99, 100.

terity, he successfully prevented the Turks from wriggling out of the conditions and restrictions which his government thought necessary to impose upon them. Though often obliged to differ from his European colleagues, he never created amongst them any personal hostility, and though working in an Oriental atmosphere and checkmating Oriental antagonists, he never exposed himself to the charge of trickery or unfairness."

He adhered firmly, in short, to the sound principle that the European diplomatist should never contend against Orientals with their weapons, but with his own.

On September 19, four days after Tel-el-Kebîr, Lord Dufferin wrote to the Foreign Secretary—

"I often wonder whether my letters cause you the same sinking of the heart as those of my Consuls occasion me. However, by this mail I send you not a letter, but a far more formidable burden, namely, a despatch recording the latter course of the Convention negotiations. I do not expect you or any mortal soul to read it, but I have thought it better to frame a connected record of these tiresome transactions, especially with the view of making it quite clear that from first to last we have acted in perfect sincerity and good faith. I was very much irritated when I saw that suspicions to the contrary were being put about in some of the papers. Straightforward dealings should be the very essence of any diplomacy in the East; and here, at all events amongst those who know, there has been no idea to the contrary beyond the momentary doubt in Calice's * mind which I have now removed. What I prided myself on was in having arrived at what I presume everybody must consider a desirable result, without resorting to a single dubious act or expression. Indeed I may say that it has been in spite of my earnest warnings and counsels that the Turks have spitted themselves in the manner they have done. However, the matter is now at an end, and most thankful I am for it. I have not yet ascertained the way in which the Turks will take the dropping of the Convention, but I shall know to-night."

A letter to Lady Dartrey explains further the straight

* The Austro-Hungarian ambassador.

course held by Lord Dufferin throughout these tortuous negotiations—

September 23, 1882.—"I have just sent home a despatch of eighty pages recounting the course of the recent negotiations about the Military Convention. No mortal being will ever read it, but I have left it as rather a curious page in the history of the Eastern question. I see that some of the newspapers, though they acknowledge that it is a very good thing that the Convention has fallen into the water, are accusing the Government, or rather me, of having tricked the Turks in an un-English fashion, etc., implying that we cheated them into letting us have the Proclamation without giving them the Convention in return. The papers must be very hard put to it for something to find fault with when they fall back upon this absurd assertion. From first to last we have run as straight as a die; but the truth is, as I have myself told them, the fatuity of the Porte has been so beyond belief, and so contrary to their own obvious interests that people are forced to attribute the results which have accrued to the diabolic astuteness of the British ambassador. Our Government really wanted the Convention (in spite of the inconvenience which might be occasioned by the presence of Turkish troops in Egypt) from considerations of general European policy; but it was necessary, in order to minimize the ill consequences of the Turks being in Egypt, to let them go there under pretty stringent conditions. I negotiated all these with the Porte without difficulty, but each time that the Ministers and I came to an agreement, the Sultan repudiated what they had accepted, and suggested some impossible combination instead. This entailed fresh references home, which of course took time; but twice I had the pen in my hands if not to sign at all events to initial the texts which the Turks themselves had drawn up, and twice the Ottoman plenipotentiaries were forced by their master to cry off. Just at the end, when Sir Garnet Wolseley was on the point of winning his battles, I became strongly of opinion that the Convention had better not be signed; but even so it was not necessary for me to interpose any artificial delays on my own initiation, which after all would have been a perfectly legitimate method of procedure had it been necessary; but it was not. The last act of the drama was too absurd.

"In order to gain a particular end, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the private secretary had been sent to me, to propose certain arrangements as a proof of good will and good faith, which hitherto had only been exemplified by the pains which had been taken to increase the privations of our army by stopping their supplies and impeding their transport. The English government having replied to his advances in a very conciliatory manner, I naturally threw into the form of a Memorandum the various undertakings the ministers had entered into on the Sultan's behalf, and requested that it might be signed as an indication that my *résumé* of what the Sultan had engaged to do, and in consideration of which we had given way on certain points, was correct. The minister made no difficulty about agreeing to this, and I imagined the whole thing was settled, when the Sultan sent for me to the Palace and kept me there for eleven hours, trying to induce me to allow this Memorandum to be altered, or rather to be obliterated, and a totally different kind of paper substituted. I cannot give you an idea of the absurdity of the whole proceeding. The Sultan was in one room, and I was in another with about a dozen Pashas whom he employed from three in the afternoon till two the next morning in conveying to me various messages and proposals, each one more impracticable than the other. At last, becoming weary and angry, I got up, saying that one would think I was the representative of a Power whose armies had just been annihilated on the field of battle, rather than of one whose generals had concluded a successful campaign by a brilliant victory, and I prepared to leave. Upon this all the Pashas clustered round me, pulled me down by the coat tails, stroked my hand and almost patted my cheek, beseeching me not to ruin Turkey. In the middle of it all came the news of our occupation of Cairo and the capture of Arabi,* but still the Sultan went on; and as I have already said, it was only after eleven hours had been lost in this manner that I could get away. Even then the Sultan sent to me early the next day, desiring to withdraw a proposition which he had besought me the previous evening to submit to my government, and to substitute for it a totally new one. As to our having cheated them into giving us the Proclamation, I was perfectly frantic when I found that

* The telegram reached the embassy while Lord Dufferin was at the Palace, but was not sent on to him there.

it had been published. We had long before agreed on a particular Proclamation, which had been sent home and approved of, with the exception of a couple of words which the Porte promised to rectify. Day after day I had been pressing the Foreign Minister to communicate the amended copy to me, but he always kept putting me off with one excuse after another. Suddenly, without a word of warning, he sends to the papers a totally different version with the objectionable words preserved in it, and others even added. When I reproached him with his bad faith, he seemed very much ashamed of himself, and admitted that the proceeding was indefensible, but he said he had been forced into it against his will. The real reason why the document was thus suddenly issued was that the Sultan had just received an angry defiance from Arabi threatening to depose him, and indignantly flung at him the first weapon which came to his hand.

"I am treating you very badly in sending you these tiresome details of what after all was merely a storm in a teacup, but what I have particularly prided myself upon in the whole of this business has been in getting the matter settled in accordance with our obvious interests and the wishes of the Government, while at the same time that I have been absolutely open and straightforward. This has been loudly acknowledged by the Turks with whom I have dealt as well as by my colleagues, with whom I have kept acquainted with every step of my proceedings, as it was the best chance of keeping their sympathies with us, which I have succeeded in doing so far as our diplomatic action is concerned. Of course they are all very jealous at our military successes, and try to explain them away in dozens of absurd fashions. Some of them pretend that the whole rebellion was a bogus affair got up between us and Arabi. Others say that before we attacked Tel-el-Kebîr we had bought Arabi and all his generals and artillerymen. Others say that it was the Proclamation that dispersed the Egyptian hosts, though Arabi took very good care that not a word of it should reach any of his people. In fact they give the credit of what has happened to everything but the courage and good management of our troops and generals."

The truth is that the stars in their courses—the inevitable determination of events—forced the unwilling

hand of the British Ministers ; and their triumphant issue out of the labyrinth of doubts and difficulties was largely due to the singularly fortunate coincidence of having Lord Dufferin to conduct their diplomacy and Sir Garnet Wolseley to lead their army in the field. Obstacles that looked formidable in the misty distance yielded so easily to decisive action at close quarters that the whole business seemed to have been deliberately pre-arranged. Nor is it strange that the cautious, tentative, reluctant procedure of a divided Cabinet was at the time interpreted in France, and among foreign nations generally, as the consistent and wily policy by which England accomplished a deep-laid design of establishing her sole protectorate over Egypt.

CHAPTER X.

EGYPT.

THE Turkish government still endeavoured to claim, on the ground of the Sultan's sovereignty, some right to participate in the settlement of Egyptian affairs, and urgently offered to despatch troops for that purpose. But Lord Dufferin was instructed to reply that any discussions of these questions would be premature. The British ambassador, in fact, was now master of the situation at Constantinople, and could remind the Sultan, in taking note of his anxiety to put down disorder at Cairo, that his engagements to reform his own administration in Armenia and Anatolia were as yet quite unfulfilled. But the Palace was at this moment occupied in consulting a synod of astrologers; for by the Mahomedan Calendar a new year was just opening, in which the advent of a Mahdi or Messiah, to regenerate Islam, had been predicted; and events in Egypt might well give meaning to portents of trouble impending over the Osmanli empire. In Egypt, at any rate, the predestined regenerator of Islam was to appear in the person of Lord Dufferin. On October 31, 1882, he writes to Lord Granville—

“I was a little startled by your telegram proposing Egypt, though it had already sometimes occurred to me that my destiny might eventually carry me there. I have trundled all my things together and am off on Thursday. . . . Yesterday I sent a civil message to the Sultan to tell him of the orders I had received, the purport of which

I desired to communicate to him before any one else. He seems to have been considerably startled."

The formal instructions to Lord Dufferin state that—

"at the moment when important negotiations are being carried on for the settlement of Egypt, Her Majesty's Government think your presence for a time in that country would be advantageous. . . . Her Majesty's Government, while desiring that the British occupation should last for as short a time as possible, feel bound not to withdraw from the task thus imposed on them until the administration of affairs has been reconstructed on a basis which will afford satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity in Egypt, for the stability of the Khedive's authority, for the judicious development of self-government, and for the fulfilment of obligations towards foreign Powers. These objects are in the real interest of Egypt, of this country, and of Europe.

"It will be essential therefore that all measures bearing on the reorganization of the government should be submitted to your Excellency before they are adopted or made public, and that you should as far as possible be consulted at every stage of their preparation."

Her Majesty the Queen wrote to Lord Dufferin (November 1882)—

"to express to him personally her deep sense of the service he had rendered to her and the country in a time of great anxiety and under the most trying circumstances. She had wished to confer on him some public mark of her approbation, but was told he did not himself wish it.

"A far more difficult task is now before him, and she wishes to say one thing to him by which he will render the greatest benefit to his sovereign and country as well as Egypt, and that is by stating strongly and firmly what is the real state of things in Egypt."

In a week from the date of Lord Granville's telegram Lord Dufferin had arrived in Cairo, where he proceeded to business with such promptitude that within a fortnight he was able to send to the Foreign Office one long memorandum on the reorganization of the army, and

another upon the question of establishing liberal institutions in Egypt. These, as he said, represented "tentative opinions" formed after consultation with Sir Edward Malet and others, to whom the conditions of the problem were already familiar; and his mature conclusions—which were not, however, materially different—were stated in the final report that he afterwards submitted on the whole subject of reconstituting the Egyptian administration. Meanwhile successive despatches issued upon him rapidly from the Foreign Office, demanding his attention to such questions as the immediate abolition of slavery, the revision of taxation, the establishment of an effective police, the reassembling of the Chamber of Notables, the maintenance of the system of Dual Financial Control, and the terms of a fresh international agreement for the protection and service of the Suez Canal.

These and other matters were somewhat hurriedly pressed upon Lord Dufferin, who telegraphed for breathing time, and hinted some alarm at the multiplicity and magnitude of his duties. Moreover, before reconstruction could be put in hand it was necessary to clear the ground. The jails were crowded with more than a thousand prisoners arrested for complicity in the late rebellion; and the trial of their leaders, among whom the most prominent was Arabi Pasha, had been already committed to an Egyptian Commission, which had been sitting for some weeks. Not only was the prosecution watched with keen interest in Egypt and in Europe, but a large number of persons, whose complicity with recent insurrectionary movements might be disclosed, were in suspense and trepidation while the inquiry was going on; and the English government was anxious that proceedings should be expedited. Meanwhile the trial was making such slow progress that the hearing of the witnesses for the prosecution had occupied fifty-two days. It had been settled that the procedure should be under the Osmanli military code; but the Egyptian government's advocate was a Frenchman, whose ideas on the

subject were governed by the procedure of criminal courts in France, and the counsel for the accused were Englishmen, who took their stand upon English rules and methods. The presiding officers knew nothing of either system ; they could not decide objections or check the wrangling of advocates ; and they only increased the confusion by their endeavours to control it. Toward the end of November, fifty-four days after the trial's commencement, the Egyptian minister placed before Lord Dufferin five manuscript volumes, containing the record of the evidence against Arabi Pasha, and the pleadings on both sides, with the request that after having examined them he would favour the government with his confidential opinion upon the case. Lord Dufferin's hardihood in facing responsibilities has never been questioned ; but to undertake such a task as this would have been too heroic, and the papers were transferred to competent legal advisers. Very fortunately for Arabi Pasha, it was found that the evidence did not implicate him in any respect with the massacres that had been committed in Alexandria ; for if this had been substantiated, any sentence that might have been passed on him would have been left, so far as Lord Dufferin was concerned, to its operation. And since it appeared, after careful scrutiny of the record, that the only offence clearly provable was rebellion, Lord Dufferin advised the Egyptian ministers to indict Arabi Pasha on this single charge, having first taken steps to ascertain that to this indictment the accused would plead guilty. After some hesitation and remonstrance—for the ministers had been so thoroughly alarmed by the insurrection that they had resolved to make an example of the ringleaders—this advice prevailed. Accordingly, when Arabi Pasha was convicted on this plea, the Court Martial pronounced upon him sentence of death, subject to the pleasure of the Khedive—and they withdrew to receive His Highness's formal orders. Sentence had been given, and the judges were gone. For the moment Arabi Pasha thought he had been entrapped. But the Court reappeared im-

mediately, to read out a Khedivial decree commuting the capital sentence to perpetual exile with degradation from rank.

Lord Dufferin's report on the general effect produced upon public opinion in Egypt by this decree, throws light upon the origin and character of the revolutionary movement which Arabi had represented and led. Among the European colony in Egypt, he said, dissatisfaction with leniency was universal, and this feeling was shared by the entire ruling class of Turkish or Circassian descent, who saw in the late rebellion not merely a military revolt, but the uprising of an oppressed nationality against the ascendancy of their caste. For that same reason, on the other hand, the general body of the Egyptian people, including many of the rich bourgeoisie as well as the fellaheen, were gratified by Arabi's escape from death.

Lord Dufferin was now for the second time called in to rescue an Eastern province from a condition of intolerable misgovernment, to repair dilapidations, to prescribe remedies, and to provide against relapse. In Egypt, as formerly in Syria, he represented European intervention for the cure of acute disorder; but otherwise the circumstances were very different, since this time he exercised undivided authority, the European Powers having left the case to England alone. And whereas in Syria one of his difficulties had been to persuade a French army to evacuate the country, in Egypt he had to convince France that an English army must provisionally remain. Above all, from Egypt the interference of Constantinople had been eliminated. The Sultan did, indeed, make some show of asserting his formal prerogative, by the issue to the Khedive of an Imperial Iradé prohibiting him from adopting any measures for the rehabilitation of his viceregal government without previously submitting them to his sovereign. The Khedive replied, officially, with profuse acknowledgments of the Sultan's religious and political supremacy. But since, he explained, the pressure of

the English upon him had become extreme, His Highness found himself compelled, under pain of deposition, to submit to their demands.

“Le véritable Khédive de l’Egypte, c’est Lord Dufferin. C’est de lui qu’ émanent tous les ordres, et le Khédive n’en est que l’instrument de transmission.”

If the Imperial government, His Highness went on to say, should insist on the Khedive refusing to act upon his advice, the only result would be that he would be forced to abdicate in favour of his son, who was still a child ; and during the minority the English would find means of usurping the whole government.

The English, in fact, were now in the predicament that invariably follows European intervention in the politics of an Oriental state. They had first stepped in to set up, in the financial interests of Europe, a weak ruler over a country where no other form of government than a strong military despotism had ever before prevailed ; and, secondly, when the ruler had lost control of his army, they had been compelled to interfere and put down a revolutionary uprising that must have necessarily upset his authority, since it could not exist apart from command of the armed forces of the country. Upon the English, therefore, fell all the responsibilities that in Egypt, as they have always been elsewhere, were the natural consequences of such action ; and in this situation the British government lost no time in proclaiming their views and intentions. In a despatch that was circulated to all European governments concerned, they enumerated the changes and reforms which required the concurrence of the European Powers ; and they proceeded to direct that measures should also be taken for the improved administration of justice in Egypt and for the development of liberal institutions that should possess the elements of stability and progress. They were desirous of withdrawing the British army of occupation so soon as the state of the country,

and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority, would admit of it.

This, accordingly, was the task imposed upon Lord Dufferin. He was required to plan out a new edifice upon very insecure foundations, to provide for its stability after the only buttress that could be relied upon to support it should have been withdrawn, and for the development of representative government among a people to whom autocratic rulership was the only system hitherto known.

"I am already nearly dead" (he wrote privately to the Foreign Office) "with all the work I have on hand, upon the top of which I have had three weeks of great domestic anxiety. I am moreover deep in my final Report, which I am anxious you should get before Parliament meets, and which I hope to send off on the 6th. The labour entailed by its preparation will be very great, and beside that there is the daily burden of the innumerable current affairs connected with the army, the police, and other practical matters, of the multiplicity of which no one at a distance can have any conception. Above all things I hope you will never imagine that I attach any importance as far as my own credit or personal interests are concerned to the publication of what I write. Such an idea as that is never present to my mind. My only thought is to carry out the instructions of the Government to the best of my ability, without being in the slightest degree preoccupied as to the way in which my own reputation may be affected."

To Sir William Gregory he wrote—

February 10, 1883.—"With regard to Arabi, I am by no means prejudiced against him. I imagine he was quite honest and sincere; but the grievances of which he complained were not of a nature to justify him in plunging his country into a war which has certainly been very disastrous to the population at large. Nor do I think can his friends complain of the way in which he and the other rebels have been treated. Indeed never has a rebellion been so tenderly dealt with, as I think you will see when you come to learn all the facts of the case. Of course the losing side had to suffer, and undoubtedly have suffered;

but the hardships they labour under have, I think, been a good deal exaggerated. The only really bad case that has come to my knowledge is that of the wife of Ghaffar, who has been banished for eight years. She is dying of consumption, and hearing that she was badly off I sent her ten pounds out of my own pocket."

When in February 1883, within two months after the circular despatch had been issued, he submitted his Report, he reminded Lord Granville—

"that three months have not yet elapsed since my arrival in Cairo; that a great proportion of my time has of necessity been occupied with the superintendence and arrangement of complicated current affairs, requiring constant and minute attention, as well as laborious correspondence; and that, consequently, I have had far less leisure than I should have wished to study the various questions upon which your Lordship has desired my opinion."

Lord Dufferin opens his Report with the preliminary observations that it ought not to be difficult to provide Egypt with good government—although hitherto the country has never known it—for we are not to assume that the people are under any incurable disability to appreciate its principles.

"It is true that from the commencement of the historical era the Valley of the Nile has been ruled by foreigners, and its inhabitants domineered over by alien races. Nor do its annals indicate an epoch when the 'justice' of the country was not corrupt, its administration oppressive, and the indigenous population emotional, obsequious, and submissive. But there is no need to imagine that what has been must always continue even in the unchanging East, or that a race, some branches of which have evinced considerable energy as conquerors and colonists, as well as an intelligent appreciation of art and literature, should prove eternally impervious to the teachings of civic morality and the instincts of patriotism, or incapable of apprehending those common axioms of government which the consensus of civilized mankind has recognized as essential to the welfare of a community."

. At any rate (he went on to say) the European Powers are agreed upon trying the experiment at the present time, when Egypt has been placed under their protection, when the country has been released from subjection to Constantinople, and is under the unfettered rule of a benevolent and intelligent prince who is willing to govern, to a reasonable degree, constitutionally. Moreover (he added), the Turkish element, that has so long represented foreign domination and administrative monopoly, is becoming rapidly fused into the general population by the influence of a common domicile and a common religion ; and such pretensions to superiority as are still retained by this class may be in some measure fortified by the higher education, the ability, and the energy, of a vigorous race. The introduction of equality before the law, with an impartial selection for the public services according to talents and aptitudes, will gradually obliterate race distinctions, and overpower the claims to exclusive political privilege.

Then follows a passage composed in a style so different from that of ordinary official reports, and so characteristic of the writer, that it must not be summarized—

“ Lastly, though obliged to admit that those infirmities of character which have been the chief notes of their past, still cling to the Egyptian masses, we need not be too much disheartened. The metamorphic spirit of the age, as evoked by the inventions of science, intercourse with European countries, and other invigorating influences, has already done something to inspire the fellah with the rudiments of self-respect, and a dim conception of hitherto unimagined possibilities. Nor, like his own Memnon, has he remained irresponsive to the beams of the new dawn. His lips have trembled, if they have not articulated, and in many indirect and half-unconscious ways he has shown himself not only equal to the discharge of some of those functions of which none but members of the most civilized communities were thought capable, but unexpectedly appreciative of his legitimate political interests and moral rights.”

After this prelude Lord Dufferin takes up the business

in hand, which is to devise institutions under which these elementary ideas and capacities may be utilized and developed. He dismisses the theory that an irresponsible centralized bureaucracy is the only system under which Egypt can be kept in order.

“I would press upon Her Majesty’s Government a more generous policy—such a policy as is implied by the creation, within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions, of municipal and communal self-government, and of a political existence untrammelled by external importunity, though aided, indeed, as it must be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance. Indeed, no middle course is possible. The Valley of the Nile could not be administered with any prospect of success from London. An attempt upon our part to engage in such an undertaking would at once render us objects of hatred and suspicion to its inhabitants. Cairo would become a focus of foreign intrigue and conspiracy against us, and we should find ourselves forced either to abandon our pretensions under discreditable conditions, or to embark upon the experiment of a complete acquisition of the country. If, however, we content ourselves with a more moderate *rôle*, and make the Egyptians comprehend that instead of desiring to impose upon them an indirect but arbitrary rule, we are sincerely desirous of enabling them to govern themselves, under the uncompromising ægis of our friendship, they will not fail to understand that while, on the one hand, we are the European nation most vitally interested in their peace and well-being, on the other, we are the least inclined of any to allow the influence which the progress of events has required us to exercise to degenerate into an irritating and exasperating display of authority, which would be fatal to those instincts of patriotism and freedom which it has been our boast to foster in every country where we have set our foot.”

The Report then proceeds to lay out the scheme for administrative reorganization under the three main heads of the Army, the Courts of Justice, and Institutions. Under the first two heads the details no longer concern us; but when he reaches the question of Institutions, Lord Dufferin is face to face with the inveterate difficulties that confront all European designers of political

constitutions that are intended to stand on their own bottom and to work automatically in an Eastern climate.

“A long enslaved nation instinctively craves for the strong hand of a master rather than for a lax constitutional *régime*. A mild ruler is more likely to provoke contempt and insubordination than to inspire gratitude. Nowhere is this truth more strikingly exhibited than in this country, and those whose only prescription for government in Egypt is the lash, diagnose correctly enough the symptoms of the disease, however wrong they may be in the choice of the remedy.”

Nevertheless, the Mahomedan religion, he says, is essentially democratic; and the germs of the elective principle exist in all primitive communities. We must found ourselves on what already exists, and endeavour to expand it; though “hitherto resort has been had to the very opposite process; instead of seeking for the roots too much regard has been paid to the murmuring leaves: since the wants and instincts of the masses were as little represented by the Chamber of Notables as was the Irish nation by the Protestant Parliament.”

There may be here a superfluity of metaphor, but there is also no lack of sympathetic insight into needs and grievances. If representative institutions, as prescribed by the British government, were to be developed, the rudimentary communal electorate supplied at any rate an existing basis and an intelligible starting-point. It may be sufficient here to explain that according to Lord Dufferin's plan the village constituencies would choose by vote members of Provincial Councils, that these Councils again would elect a majority of the members of a Legislative Council, and that a General Assembly would be also constituted, to which rather more than one half of the members were to be delegated by the spokesmen of the villages. But the attributes of the Legislative Council and the Assembly were not to extend beyond the right to be consulted on all questions of importance, except in case of new taxes, to which the

assent of the Assembly was made necessary. These recommendations, after approval by the British government, were enacted and promulgated by an Organic Decree, which still remains the charter of the Egyptian constitution. The other reforms inaugurated by Lord Dufferin are too numerous to be catalogued here. Among the most important of them were the revision of the Land revenue assessment and of taxation, the remodelling of the army and the police, and a graduated scheme of public instruction. But Lord Dufferin insisted upon one essential condition of efficiency—the absolute necessity of retaining for some time to come the assistance of Europeans in all departments of Egyptian administration ; nor indeed could the machinery have been worked at all on any other terms.

Moreover, the fundamental weakness underlying the whole fabric of an Egyptian government designed and constructed after European models, was foreseen and plainly indicated by Lord Dufferin in the final paragraph of his report. The British Cabinet had declared their intention of evacuating the country whenever the reformed administration should have been set in working order ; they had pronounced against the alternative of placing in Egypt a Resident to superintend the experiment, and to preside with influence and authority over the process of reform. At the opening of Parliament in February 1883, the Queen's Speech from the Throne announced that " British troops will be withdrawn from Egypt as promptly as may be permitted by a prudent examination of the country." But how was this to be interpreted, and what were the Egyptians to understand by it ? For it was, as Lord Dufferin wrote—

" absolutely necessary to prevent the fabric we have raised from tumbling to the ground the moment our sustaining hand is withdrawn. . . . The administrative system must have time to consolidate, in order to resist the disintegrating influence from within and without, and to acquire the use and knowledge of its own capacities. . . . Above all, the persons who have staked their future in its existence,

must have some guarantee that it will endure. . . . Amidst the applause of the liberal world a Parliament was called into existence in Constantinople; a few months later it disappeared, and its champion and fugleman* is now languishing in the dungeons of Taif. Unless they are convinced that we intend to shield and foster the system we have established, it will be vain to expect the timid politicians of the East to identify themselves with its existence."

Nine years afterwards Sir Alfred Milner † wrote, in commenting upon Lord Dufferin's despatches, and especially upon this report—

"It is impossible for any one acquainted with Egypt to read them without admiration. Their writer's mastery of the subject is extraordinary. Behind all his formal civility to the misleading catchwords, the impractical ideals, which he felt bound to treat with respect, there is a manly grasp of facts and a clear appreciation of the essential needs of Egypt, and of the true remedies for her distress." ‡

Nevertheless, Sir Alfred Milner's criticism upon the report is to the effect that while Lord Dufferin was himself thoroughly aware of the difficulties that encompassed "the slow disagreeable work of reforming in detail," his manner of presenting the case was hardly calculated to make others realize them—

"He was right in the direction which he strove to give to reforming effort. But, on the other hand, he certainly glossed over the deep-rooted obstacles which his scheme was bound to encounter, and above all the length of time which would be required to accomplish it. To any one who looks closely and critically at his words the whole truth is there—the hard actual facts as well as the possibilities of a better future."

It may be questioned whether, in a State paper intended for publication to the European world, Lord Dufferin was bound to enlarge in detail upon the obstacles

* Midhat Pasha.

† Now Lord Milner.

‡ "England in Egypt," p. 94 (1892).

and conditions of success that must have been present to the minds of the Ministry upon whom lay the responsibility of sanctioning his proposals. The Report concealed nothing from those whose duty it was to decide upon it ; " the whole truth " was there, and one may doubt whether it was necessary, or would have been judicious, to suggest drawbacks and discouragement officially, or to provoke opposition by laying stress on the inevitable difficulties that could not be overlooked [as Sir A. Milner has said] by close and critical scrutiny. And since Lord Dufferin had declared very plainly in his Report that the system must have time to consolidate, the objection that he had glossed over this essential condition of success is hardly tenable. It was not his business to damage the chances of his scheme being favourably received in England and in Egypt, or to hamper the action of his own government, which was already sufficiently committed to a policy of early withdrawal, by insisting publicly on other chances of failure, when he believed honestly that his scheme would succeed in spite of them. We have also to remember that Lord Dufferin's mandate was not to treat the project of a constitution for Egypt as an open question, but to devise ways and means for bringing into operation a settled policy. Undoubtedly some of the rhetorical passages contrast with the dry and guarded tone of ordinary official papers. But the style, as has been said, is the man : it was this form that suited his character ; and if the language of the report is here and there over-coloured, it avoids no substantial point, and is nowhere inconsistent with truth or reality. This natural exuberance in speech and writing has more than once suggested some reflection, always unfounded, on Lord Dufferin's sincerity ; and in the present instance he took care to protest officially against any such misunderstanding—

" I have seen it constantly repeated in the newspapers and elsewhere, that I myself did not seem to believe in my own proposals, especially in regard to the projected political

institutions. This is altogether an incorrect assumption. In writing to your Lordship, the one thought always present to my mind is to give you perfectly accurate information. I should have been wanting in my duty if I had attempted to conceal the inherent difficulty of endowing an Oriental people that has been ground down for centuries by the most oppressive despotism with anything approaching to representative government; but I have no hesitation in declaring that if only it is given fair play, the reorganization of Egypt upon the lines now approved by Her Majesty's Government has every chance of success." *

This anticipation has been so far confirmed that Mr. Fraser Rae, in his book upon "Egypt To-day," † wrote—

"Results have been obtained beyond Lord Dufferin's expectations; and experience has proved him to be as shrewd and practical when framing a constitution as he was bold and dexterous in negotiation."

Lord Cromer, also, in reviewing the Egyptian administration, has stated that both the Council and the Assembly take an effective part in the government of the country. In his latest Report, for the year 1903, he writes—

"Although the Legislative Council and Assembly have existed for some twenty years, sufficient experience has not yet been gained of the working of these institutions to justify any confident forecast being made as to the services which, in the future, they may possibly render to Egypt. 'The metamorphic spirit of the age,' to use an expression employed by their distinguished author (the late Lord Dufferin), operates slowly. . . .

"Sufficient experience has been gained to justify the statement that Lord Dufferin's main design was wisely conceived. He wished to create institutions which should be 'consultative rather than law-making.' Although one of the institutions which he designed was called the Legislative Council, it was, as a matter of fact, not intended to legislate, but rather to advise about legislation. What, Lord Dufferin said, was needed was to create a body 'which would be always at hand to assist the ministers in the elaboration of their measures, and to enlighten them as to the general needs and wishes of the country.' "

* Lord Dufferin to Lord Granville, Cairo, April 28, 1883.

† 1893.

Nor has any material alteration been made in these institutions during the twenty years that have passed since they were founded by Lord Dufferin in 1883.

Mr. Cashel Hoey writes to him in March 1883—

“Mr. Childers lent me his Cabinet copy [of the Report] last week, and *apropos* of it I had some interesting conversation with him about you. I said that between the lines of two letters I had had from you I read that you were doing your work somewhat under the same conditions as the night-march on Tel-el-Kebir, aided only by the stars, was conducted. He said, with great emphasis, that the one thought of the Government was to give you *carte blanche*, leave your hands free, avoid fettering you with any sort of instructions. I said if that were said or conveyed to you nothing could be better, but if Lord Granville had left it to be inferred, it was putting a great additional responsibility upon you. He then said it was he who had originally advised Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville to send you to Egypt—that a few days after Tel-el-Kebir he wrote a memorandum to the effect that he felt warranted to suggest what in his judgment should follow the end of the war—that he considered it was necessary to send a minister of the first rank in point of character and ability to Cairo—and that you were in every conceivable way indicated for the duty, by your talents and antecedents, but especially by the masterly way you had recently dealt with the Egyptian question itself at the Porte. A day or two afterwards he received a brief reply to the effect simply—we quite agree with you. . . . We then spoke of your Despatch. He said it was admirable, most able, quite what he, and, I think he meant to convey, the Cabinet too expected from you, and with some wonderful brilliant bits of writing characteristic of you.”

On April 15, 1883, Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice—

“I reproach myself for not having written to you before to thank you for the very kind and flattering way in which you introduced my Report to the notice of the House of Commons. It was very good of you to secure its being indulgently received. I am in hopes things will now go

on pretty smoothly if only we get a good man at the centre of the machinery we have set up. . . .

"The great difficulty of our present situation is the want of money. The Liquidation law left the government just enough to work the machine, and now we are called upon to meet the interest on the indemnity and occupation charges out of our narrow income. But no reforms can be carried out without an increase of expenditure. There are no prisons in Egypt, and without prisons prison discipline and prison sanitation are impossible. The new tribunals will also prove a considerable expense. On the other hand, being forced to abolish departments and to dismiss a large number of civil servants does not add to our popularity.

"I hope to bring our 'Institutions' into the world in the course of a few days. The mechanical parts of the plan will have to be carefully elaborated. By the end of the month my task will be pretty well completed; that is to say, I shall have laid down the lines along which the reorganization of Egypt ought to move, and have come to an agreement with the Egyptian government in respect of every part of the entire plan. First-rate men will have been placed at their disposal to assist them in the consolidation of the fabric; and the rest must be the work of patience, time, and industry."

The British ministry had good reason for the cordial satisfaction with which they received the Report, and acknowledged the success of Lord Dufferin's mission to Egypt. The official despatch, reviewing and recognizing his services, is subjoined—

May 15, 1883.—"Your Excellency's Mission in Egypt having come to a conclusion, it becomes my duty to express to you, on behalf of the Queen's Government, their cordial thanks for your having undertaken the task entrusted to you, and their entire approval of the manner in which you have fulfilled it.

"The untiring energy which you applied to the consideration of the many difficult problems connected with the reorganization of a country just relieved from a military rebellion and suffering in all the branches of its administration from the disorder thereby entailed, are fully appreciated by Her Majesty's Government, and they are

highly gratified at the happy results thus far achieved through your arduous labours. They sincerely trust that the reforms which the Khedive and his government have introduced into the administration by your advice, and the institutions which, with your assistance, they have devised with the view of securing the liberties of the Egyptian people and the good government of the country, may be the commencement of a new era of prosperity and contentment for Egypt and its inhabitants. The gradual development of constitutional government in Egypt will be watched with the greatest interest in this country, and in attaining that object the Egyptian people and its Ruler may confidently rely on the assistance and support of the Government of the Queen."

Lord Dufferin enclosed a copy of his Report to the Egyptian Minister, Sherif Pasha, with a long letter of advice and encouragement. But he was fully aware that nothing would put heart or confidence into the Khedive's government, if the proclamation of a constitution was to be followed by the withdrawal of the British garrison; and he probably foresaw that an early evacuation would be found impossible. At any rate, in the final paragraph of his letter, he did not hesitate to fortify Sherif Pasha with assurances of material support, in terms much more unequivocal than the official despatches at that time warranted—

"There is one further word which it may be desirable to add, but here again I must remind you that I am speaking as your private friend, and not in my official capacity. There is no point upon which you and I have been so thoroughly agreed as on the necessity of its being understood by all concerned that the governmental system about to be inaugurated should possess the character of permanence and stability. As long as men's minds are shaken by the expectation of change, every public, private, commercial, and political interest in the country is compromised and endangered. I therefore do not hesitate to assure you that the new order of things you are creating with the hearty approval and concurrence of the Queen's government, is one which is destined and intended both to succeed and to endure. On frequent occasions Lord Granville has ex-

pressed his confidence in the Khedive, and his strong desire that His Highness' government should be established on sure and unassailable foundations. Words of this kind uttered in Parliament are not lightly spoken. It follows as a consequence that all those patriotic Egyptians who are now engaged in reorganizing the government of their country may count upon the unfailing goodwill and support of the English people to the very last."

His anxiety to obtain confirmation of these assurances is shown in an official letter to Lord Granville (April 1883)—

"There is one point insisted on by the American missionaries to which, however, I would more especially draw your Lordship's attention, as it so entirely coincides with my own convictions on the subject. These gentlemen say that the only chance of restoring peace and harmony to Egypt is that all classes of its inhabitants should be made to understand that the new *régime* about to be introduced will be invested with an impregnable permanence and stability. If once this idea permeates the population they will accept the situation created for them with satisfaction. As long, however, as they are kept in a state of uncertainty, and their minds are agitated by the idea that other influences and other forces, whether emanating from Turkey or elsewhere, are at all likely to change the present state of things, a perpetual condition of disquiet and disturbance is certain to prevail. It is most important that they should come to regard the system we have called into being as henceforth part and parcel of the immutable order of nature."

With the rash and calamitous expedition into the Soudan, for the purpose of recovering the provinces that had revolted from Egypt, Lord Dufferin had no official concern. Her Majesty's Government had formally disclaimed all responsibility for those military operations, abandoning the whole business to the discretion of the Khedive and his Ministers; and this short-sighted policy of dealing with the affairs of a country in which British authority was supreme "on the theory of limited liability" (as Sir A. Milner has called it), brought its

natural reward. A letter, dated July 1883, from Major Hicks, the ill-fated commander of the Egyptian forces at Khartoum, to Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, foreshadows the calamity that overtook him in November. From Cairo he can get no effective help—"my support has gone with Lord Dufferin." His orders are disregarded by the local Egyptian authorities; the delays are interminable; transport and provisions, urgently needed, are not collected; and his confidential letters of complaint to the Egyptian government against the officials are intercepted and made public. The cavalry could not ride; a detachment of infantry ordered to join had deserted with their arms. The opinions of his colleague in joint command, Suleiman Pasha, on the conduct of the coming campaign were almost diametrically opposed to his own, and Major Hicks wrote that he "disagreed with every one of them."

"Camels are not ready; boats and provisions are not collected. I don't see how it is possible for me to march before September, when the crops will be cut, the year's supply of food gathered in, and there will be no forage for the cavalry and transport animals. The apathy and obstruction of all officials is as bad as ever, and at times I look upon the undertaking as perfectly *hopeless*. . . . Hassen Pacha, commanding on the Blue Nile (Senaar), telegraphs that he is *without any food for his army*, and calls urgently for a supply. . . .

"I hear on reliable authority that several of the chiefs to whom I gave the Khedive's pardon, and whose tribes I permitted to recross the river from Kordofan to Senaar and settle down again—have gone to the Mahdi, to Obeid—and told him that although they had returned to their villages, he must not think that they had deserted his cause. They took with them a list of the numbers of men they could still bring into the field. This makes it still more evident to me how necessary it is, that, by whatever route we march into Kordofan, we must establish posts on the line and keep open our communication with our base. With an enemy in front and an enemy in rear, with line of retreat cut off, the Egyptian troops would be worth nothing at all. They are worth but very little under the

best of circumstances. With two brigades of Indian troops Kordofan, or the Soudan, would be reconquered with the greatest ease."

"Foredoomed to dogs and vultures," the Egyptian army marched to its destruction across the White Nile into Kordofan. In the "Life of the Right Hon. Hugh Childers" * is a letter from him to Lord Halifax, written some months after the final catastrophe, in which he says—

"We [the Government] disliked the war, but hardly felt justified in interfering. . . . I think we made one grave mistake: that is, after refusing leave to officers to go to the Soudan, not forbidding Hicks, who was a retired Indian, to go, and take others in the same position with him.

"I was a party, in November, to the prohibition, and was alarmed to find in May a number of officers in the Soudan, and Dufferin corresponding with Hicks."

Truly no one but Lord Dufferin seems to have ventured upon any active sympathy with the unfortunate commander, surrounded by enemies and deserted by the government under which he was serving; while in England Mr. Childers † was alarmed at anything that looked like an attempt to assist him in a campaign for which the ministry had disclaimed all responsibility. In the last letter that reached Lord Dufferin from Khartoum, Major Hicks writes—

"I was very gratified at receiving your Lordship's kind letter from Alexandria. It is the *only letter* I have received from any one expressing approval of what I have been fortunate enough to do in Senaar. I believe that part of the Soudan is for the time quite settled, and will remain so if affairs are carried on in a judicious way in Kordofan—but I am sorry to say that your Lordship's departure from Cairo has been a calamity to me. The idea here was, and is, that with your departure my support at Cairo went

* II. pp. 179-80.

† In November 1882 Mr. Childers had been Secretary for War. By May 1883 he had become Chancellor of the Exchequer.

also, and the result is that my orders are quite disregarded and my arrangements left uncarried out—promises are made and nothing done.”

On November 1 (1883) his army was crushed out of being. The Mahdi's victory threw the Turkish government into a panic. They nearly cut off the head of the unfortunate official who allowed a telegraphic statement to slip into the local papers as to the Mahdi commanding an army of 300,000 men. A counter-statement was immediately published to the effect that he could not have more than a thousand men, and that they were all brigands.

Among Lord Dufferin's papers is a letter from Mrs. Hicks acknowledging a kind and sympathizing letter written to her from Constantinople, where the news of the Soudan army's annihilation and of her husband's death had reached him. “Over and over again in his letters to me” (she says) “my husband regretted your leaving Egypt, as in you he had lost the only support he had.”

To Lord Lansdowne Lord Dufferin wrote—

“I have been dreadfully cut up by this terrible news from the Soudan. It was a great pity that General Hicks embarked upon so dangerous and profitless an expedition. Fortunately as far as my own credit is concerned I put on record before I left Egypt a strong opinion that the Egyptian government should not attempt to extend their dominion beyond the western banks of the White Nile, but content themselves with the reconquest of Senaar, *i.e.* the province lying between the bifurcation of the Blue and the White Niles, which Hicks had cleared of the Mahdi's people. Had they done this all would have been well.”

To Lord Granville—

December 1, 1883.—“I have, of course, been very much distressed by the news from Egypt. I cannot conceive that poor Hicks should have been so mad as to have risked his one small army in so fearfully dangerous an adventure,

where the slightest check would involve complete destruction. As you will remember, any advance to the west of the White Nile was quite contrary to my programme. . . . The question of what is now to be done is a very difficult one, upon which I will not hazard an opinion, as the government will have decided the point before this reaches you. I will only suggest that we should think well before advising the Egyptian Government to surrender Khartoum and Senaar and the command of the White Nile."

To Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice—

December 1, 1883.—"The Soudan catastrophe will tell against us in many ways in getting Egypt to rights. Poor Hicks ought never to have risked Egypt's one small army on so desperate an adventure; but I do not think that Khartoum, Senaar, the command of the Nile, and of the communications between Berber and Suakim, should be permanently abandoned, whatever temporary retreat prudence may counsel."

"I cannot help grievously lamenting the loss of Khartoum, and I should have been inclined to make some sacrifices to maintain a position which would have checked the Mahdi's advance north. It is an outpost of civilization as well as of Egypt, but I can understand the government in the presence of our multitudinous responsibilities hesitating to undertake so onerous a charge."

These responsibilities were renounced, indeed, with very little hesitation; and Colonel Gordon's subsequent mission to withdraw the garrisons only produced a second disaster. The subjoined letter from Gordon to Lord Dufferin, written in March 1884, may be given here to close Lord Dufferin's correspondence on the melancholy topic of errors and failures in the Soudan.

"*Khartoum, March 11, 1884.*—Thank you for your kind letter 8 February received to-day. I am truly obliged for what your Lordship has done for my friend, who will be delighted.

"We are in a pickle here and I almost doubt if this letter will get through, for the tribes around here, owing to our

weakness, have gone over to the Mahdi, and are about to hem us in. We have lots of provisions, but there does not seem to be any likelihood of our affairs improving. As for the Mahdi he is in reality nothing, and cannot move from Obeid ; it is his emissaries which raise the tribes, who see by our sending down the sick that we do not mean to keep the country. Of course one cannot expect them to be faithful to me, when they know I only want to get the Cairo employés and white troops down. As for Khartoum, if it falls the emissaries of the Mahdi will enter Egypt and we will have eventually to put him down under great difficulties ; for if he gets Khartoum he will have no end of stores and prestige, and of course its fall involves that of Senaar and Kassala and eventually Berber and Dongola. I could only do my best, but things are too far gone to remedy. I have asked Baring to tell me distinctly what he would have me do, for if we are to wait here till we surrender without any chance of relief, the best thing is to fight our way out at once. I have proposed to send Stewart, a capital fellow, to Berber and to take all the black troops and go up in the steamers to Equator and keep that province and Bahr Gazalla under myself for King of Belgians, joining him on Congo. This would stop the slave hunting, and I should be very strong up there, but of course Stewart at Berber would run the great risk of being cut off there.* However, Baring has now full information and I wait his answer. I expect every hour to hear the telegraph is cut and that before he can give me his opinion. We are always *just* too late. The revolt was nothing had it been taken in hand at once, but day by day it grows, and they laugh at my proclamations. I do not blame them for they know we are retreating.

" Believe me, my dear Lord Dufferin,

" Yours sincerely with very many thanks
for your kindness,

" C. G. GORDON."

Lord Dufferin left Egypt on May 3 for Constantinople, made a week's halt at the embassy, and travelled homeward across Europe by Varna, Bucharest, and Vienna. Some extracts from his letters to Lady Dufferin may be given here to mark the course and incidents of his journey.

* He was captured and murdered not far from Berber in September 1884.

Rhodes, May 4.—"Heaven knows when you get this letter, probably not until you have received another from me from Constantinople, but I like you to know that wherever I am, even though it be a Calypso-like island, I am thinking of you."

Constantinople, May 8.—"We got here this morning after a prosperous journey. I wrote to you from Rhodes though probably you won't have got my letter. Then we looked in at Smyrna where I wanted to see the Consul and some of my old friends. Amongst them were two ladies who were in the first bloom of their beauty when I was last at Smyrna. One of them has now, alas! turned into a podgy middle-aged woman, and the other, who was a beautiful girl of sixteen with a lovely figure, into a thin pallid creature with nothing of her former looks left but her eyes. . . .

"Little Freddy came down in a carriage at 8 this morning to meet me, driving by himself in great state, and thinking himself very much grown up. I send you a charming letter he wrote me."

May 11.—"Yesterday I saw the Sultan. Nothing could have been kinder or more courteous than he was. He said he was perfectly satisfied with all I had been doing in Egypt. I then touched upon Armenia, which he did not like. At last the Sultan gave me my chance. He said something about England wishing to acquire a protectorate over Turkey. Upon this I turned upon him in great wrath and told him I could not accept such a statement, and required to know the grounds upon which it was founded. He said that it was what other people suggested, upon which with great warmth I told him that he was surrounded in his palace by people who knew nothing of Europe and European politics or of the political forces of the world, and that they were driving him and his empire to the Devil. I could not help thinking that the Sultan was rather pleased than otherwise at hearing his friends abused. We then both calmed down, and I led the conversation into a pleasanter channel. He concluded by telling me that he was horribly afraid that I was going to leave him, that India, etc., had been talked about, and that he could never reconcile himself to my loss. I replied that I was determined to live and die at his court, unless he drove me away, upon which he stretched out his hand and gave me a cordial shake, and so ended our interview."

May 13.—“ I duly received your letter of the 5th. It is the first in which you write at all like yourself. My imagination has been already haunted by the thought of two wild women being turned loose in Paris with an unlimited credit at the family's bankers. Now it looks as if my prognostications were likely to be fully realized, but so long as you get well enough to wear them, you are welcome to any amount of tea-gowns, morning toilettes and evening costumes, especially as I hope to arrive in time to see you wear them.

“ To-day I went to see one of my friends of two and twenty years ago. I left her the most refined and fairy-looking creature in the world, but now alas! she has grown red and fat, and what is worse is suffering I fear from an incurable disease. The house, however, was full of the loveliest children I ever saw, but this did not console me for the destruction of my illusions. I have had to go through a great deal lately in this way.

“ I cannot tell you with what impatience I am waiting for the day to start—you have indeed got hold of the tow rope.”

By the end of May Lord Dufferin was in London, receiving honours and felicitations upon his achievements in Egypt, and assisting the Ministry to defend their somewhat involuntary share in what had been done. To Mr. Hepburn, a very old and intimate friend, whom he had rarely met since their Oxford days, he wrote—

June 21, 1883 (*from London*).—“ Thank you a thousand times for your dear kind letter which has just come to hand. Although I have received many congratulations on the upshot of my labours in Egypt, none have gone so straight to my heart as those contained in your friendly and affectionate words. How strange are the chances of life and how quickly it vanishes away. It seems to me only the other day that we were friends and companions at Oxford. In my tastes and the freshness of my delight in existence, as well as in the warmth of my friendship, I feel exactly as I did then, and cannot believe that I am on the verge of sixty, which in those days we regarded as almost the end of all things—at all events it marks the term of a period

of forty years of our unfailing affection, and that alone is a great possession.

"Is there any chance of your coming to town? You talk of going to Scotland. We are going there too in the autumn. If you pass through London on your way, let me know.

"Ever, my dearest and kindest of friends,

"Yours most affectionately."

Mr. Gladstone's offer (with the Queen's sanction) of the Grand Cross of the Bath, "as an acknowledgment of the great and growing roll of your public services," was accepted with due acknowledgments; and the honorary office of "Vice-Admiral of Ulster and the maritime ports thereof" was subsequently conferred upon him. Another letter from the Prime Minister requests him "to set down in a few words our degree of advancement as respects the most important particulars of preparation for leaving Egypt," as the question was to be raised in Parliament; while telegrams from correspondents in Egypt to the English newspapers were reporting administrative confusion and generally prophesying woe. Lord Dufferin replied by telegram from Ireland that the cholera (then raging in Egypt) had "knocked the government out of time," that otherwise the situation was not abnormal, and that the whole machine only required time to set in working order. In regard to the telegrams, he opined that they were devised for the purpose of scaring the British government, by those who were financially interested in promoting the country's annexation. But the Foreign Office represented to him that British interests at Constantinople were suffering from the absence of an ambassador whose influence over the Sultan was great; so Lord Dufferin cut short his leave, making, as Lord Granville acknowledged, "a great sacrifice" to public duty. By the end of September he was again at Constantinople, vainly exhorting the Sultan to do something towards redeeming his pledges in the matter of Armenian reforms. But all the other European Powers were indifferent and ob-

structive. Prince Bismarck thought the old Turkish *régime* best suited to Asia Minor ; while France was in no humour for backing England's further intervention in the East. The Sultan, whose strength lay in European disunion, became immovable ; and Lord Dufferin abandoned the whole question in baffled despair.

The Turkish government disliked and protested against our prolonged occupation of Egypt, which disconcerted hopes, still latent, that Turkish troops might be allowed to replace the English army, and that direct imperial authority might eventually be restored in that province. Nor were these expectations without encouragement from other European embassies at Constantinople, to whom our independent position and exercise of power in Egypt gave some umbrage.

In April Lady Dufferin went with her daughter to Athens. Her husband writes to her from Constantinople—

April 10, 1884.—"Here I am ! a bachelor again, and each time I try the experiment I like it less than ever.

"I took Corti back in the carriage and did not begin to 'think long' until I began to walk up the big staircase, when I suddenly felt what a dreadful thing it was for my wife to have run away from me, and left me in this horrible house all by myself. I consoled myself by going on with Victoria's picture until dusk, and then I turned to the papers. We had a dull little dinner at Corti's, but it was better perhaps than dining at home. Our only distraction was a fire, which broke out right in front of the embassy windows, and lasted well into the night. Knowing how matters would turn out I had ordered the carriage at a quarter-past 9 : by half-past I got home, and by 10 I was comfortably tucked up in bed with a novel of Walter Scott and a lamp."

Other affairs took up much of Lord Dufferin's time, yet he found leisure for an excursion to Broussa, an ancient city across the sea of Marmora on the Asiatic side, and to sketch the scenery in a letter to Lady Dartrey—

"Broussa was the seat of the Turkish power during the period which preceded its advance into Europe, and it is one of the most beautiful places on the face of the earth. You land at a little port called Mudani on the south side of the sea of Marmora, and you first mount a rather uninteresting and barren ridge which borders the sea. Arrived at the top there stretches beneath you an extensive and lovely plain, watered by several streams, and brilliant with cornfields, vines, olives, and stretches of woodland. Beyond this plain, and directly fronting you, rises a magnificent violet stretch of mountain, the highest point of which is covered with snow—the famous Mount Olympus of Homer, where the Gods sat and discussed the fortunes of the Greeks and Trojans, and whence Zeus thundered his displeasure. The western end of the plain stretches away towards Mount Ida, while the other is bounded by an amphitheatre of hills, which, when we saw them, shone like jewels in the sun; for as good luck would have it, a tremendous thunderstorm had gathered in the distance, and dyed Olympus and his adjoining peaks with the deepest, blackest violet, athwart which the setting sun shot level shafts of orange and gold. . . . The town itself nestles between the spurs of the mountains, and upon the craggy plateaus which rise one above the other at its base. But the chief features of beauty are the bubbling springs which burst out in every direction beneath your feet, spreading a wealth of verdure throughout the entire neighbourhood. Most of them are of the purest ice cold water—others are boiling hot and saturated with sulphur or iron."

In a letter to Mr. Hepburn he said—

"The condition of Egypt is a great disappointment to me, especially as all the evils which have come upon us might have been so readily avoided. It was Hicks's unfortunate expedition into Kordofan that let in the deluge, superinduced bankruptcy, and the loss of thousands of lives. . . .

"My wife and my daughter go to England late in the autumn, whither I shall follow them next spring for a good long holiday, which I shall have earned by a two years' banishment."

Early in August 1884, however, he received a telegram

informing him that he would be appointed to succeed Lord Ripon in the Governor Generalship of India.

“ It took me ” (he wrote to Lord Granville) “ very much by surprise, for although at one time my thoughts had been very strongly turned toward India, I had settled down so completely to my happy existence here that my mind never recurred to the idea. I am very sensible of the confidence shown me by the government ; but no one accepts such a heavy charge with a light heart, and it entails many severe domestic sacrifices.”

Before quitting Constantinople in September he heard of Lord Ampthill's * death, and in a letter of great sympathy to Lord Arthur Russell, he said—

“ We lost sight of each other for many a long day, until I passed through Berlin on my way to St. Petersburg, after which we became faster friends than ever, when I conceived the greatest admiration for his professional ability, and felt anew the charm of his sweet, amiable nature and bright intellect. There is no one in the whole service even second to him as a diplomatist. It must be very gratifying to you all to see the universal recognition both in Germany and in England, and I may say in Europe, of his great talents, but his abiding fame is destined to be greater still when the history of these times is written, and his despatches and correspondence are published. He will then stand out as one of the leading historical figures of the last thirty years, and what he has written will probably prove the most trustworthy source from which the historian will draw the Continental history of our times.”

On his way to England Lord Dufferin passed through Vienna, where he had some conversation with Count Kalnoky, the Austro-Hungarian prime minister, upon Turkish and Egyptian affairs, and arrived in London in the latter part of September. Throughout his career the steps on his upward promotion had been divided by short intermediate spaces ; and on this occasion little or no leisure was allowed him. He found himself under

* Previously Lord Odo Russell.

pressure to take over charge of the Governor Generalship in India early in December, because an important measure, the Bengal Rent Bill, was before the Legislative Council, which holds its sittings during the brief season of cool weather in Calcutta ; and it was a matter of urgency that the Bill should pass during the coming session. A torrent of correspondence poured in upon him immediately after his arrival in London ; innumerable congratulations on his appointment from friends at home and abroad, from foreigners as well as from compatriots ; applications from a legion of candidates for places on his staff ; and letters of welcome from high officials in India who desired to expound without delay their views upon pending questions. Discussions at the India Office over the state and prospect of Indian affairs, interviews with ministers, ex-Viceroy, and others of Indian experience, a visit to his Irish estates, a journey to Balmoral—public business and private engagements—had all to find room between narrow limits of time. For Lord Dufferin had consented, at some really considerable sacrifice of personal convenience, to set out on his voyage to India, with five years' absence before him, within not more than eight weeks of his return to England from Constantinople. From a heap of papers one letter may be selected to show that amidst heavy and multifarious occupations old acquaintance was never forgotten.

To Mr. Hepburn he wrote—

“ I was so glad to get your letter, and I only wish every one was as considerate as you, though no amount of obligatory correspondence would have stood in the way of my returning you an immediate answer. I know I have not a better or truer friend in the world than you, and your constant love and affection has been one of the greatest encouragements of my life. You well know too how warmly I return it.

“ I am just back from Ireland and Balmoral. I am always glad to see the Queen, she has been so constantly kind and good to me from my early days. I had a very pleasant meeting in Ireland with all my old friends, and

certainly no English Pro-Consul ever started for his government under more prosperous auspices ; but the universal approbation with which my nomination has been received rather appals me, for I well know how impossible it will be to fulfil such high expectations, particularly in the discharge of a task which has become terribly difficult. However, if only my health stands, I dare say I shall pull through all right ; and I trust on returning that I may be met by your cheery greeting, and may have an opportunity of enhancing my own respectability by being seen walking arm in arm with you in the London streets.

“ Ever, my dear old friend,

“ Yours affectionately.”

On October 15, at a banquet given to him in Belfast, Lord Dufferin spoke of the Indian Governor Generalship as “ a task more arduous, more responsible, and more honourable than any which had hitherto been imposed upon him.” After naming the famous soldiers and administrators—the Wellesleys, the Lawrences, Lord Mayo, and Lord Roberts—whom Ireland and especially Ulster had sent out to the field of Indian war and government, he referred with his innate generosity to “ the hundreds of high-minded officials unknown and unrewarded who are faithfully expending their existence in the solitude of their districts, for their Queen, their country, and those committed to their charge.”

“ The days ” (he said) “ when great reputations are to be made in India are, happily perhaps, as completely past as those in which great fortunes were accumulated. Famous Indian Pro-Consuls are no longer required by their superiors or compelled by circumstances to startle their countrymen by the annexation of provinces, the overthrow of dynasties, the revolutionizing of established systems, and all those dramatic performances which invariably characterize the founding and consolidation of new-born empires. Their successors must be content with the less ambitious and more homely, but equally important and beneficent, work of justifying the splendid achievements of those who have gone before them. . . .

“ One thing I can promise you, that neither amongst

those who have lived and laboured and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty. I imagine the greatest success and triumph I can obtain is that, from the time that I depart from these shores and wave a grateful response to the farewell you are saying to me to-night, even the echo of my name may never be wafted to your ears until at the end of my official term I stand again amongst you, having won from the historian of the day no higher encomium or recognition than that my administration was uneventful, but that I had kept the empire entrusted to my guardianship tranquil and secure."

That such hopes and intentions, predestined to frustration by experience, should have often been professed by a Governor General designate, is no reflection on their sincerity—

"I shall regard it" (said Lord Dalhousie in his speech * before leaving England in 1847) "as a fortunate and enviable lot indeed, if free from foreign aggression and internal turmoil, my chief duties, during the time that I may serve you, shall consist in suggesting and carrying out those great measures of internal improvement which you are so desirous of promoting."

Undoubtedly both Governors General accomplished much for the betterment of interior administration and the welfare of the Indian people; but in each period their ideal of a calm uneventful regency was signally disappointed.† Lord Dalhousie's name recalls a period of war, conquest, and annexation. Lord Dufferin was drawn far into the meshes of Afghan politics, narrowly

* At a farewell dinner given to him by the Court of Directors.

† "Audiit, et voti Phœbus succedere partem
Mente dedit; partem volucres dispersit in auras"

(Æneid, xi. 794),

or, in the Baron of Bradwardine's version—

"Ae half the prayer wi' Phœbus grace did find,
The t'other half he whistled down the wind."

avoided hostilities with Russia, and completed Lord Dalhousie's work in Burmah by adding the rest of that kingdom to the British sovereignty. But a peaceful and permanent frontier of the Indian empire is still like that margin of an untravelled world, which Tennyson's Ulysses saw ever fading before him as he followed it. Lord Dufferin, indeed, brings the old Greek hero into another part of his Belfast speech, where he touches a different note in acknowledging a libation to Lady Dufferin—

“In ancient times there was a certain well-known—I dare not call him distinguished—Grecian chief who wandered over many seas and visited many cities and conversed with many men, but wherever he went he was followed by the mysterious influence of the goddess, who suggested to him at all times and seasons what he was to do and say, who smoothed his path before him and rendered his progress miraculously successful. My lords and gentlemen, it is no exaggeration to say that during the course of my public career no ancient goddess of Grecian mythology could have rendered me more effective aid, could have extended over me more completely the ægis of her sweet wisdom and comforting counsel, than that of the lady to whose health you have just paid this tribute of respect.”

From Clandeboye Lord Dufferin wrote to his wife (October 16)—

“The banquet went off last night beautifully. It was a lovely scene, very full, the wolf and the lamb lying down together, the most bitter enemies sitting cheek by jowl, and the Catholic bishop hobnobbing with the Presbyterian moderator. My speech was very well received, though, except the allusions in the first part, I did not myself think much of it. When I sat down there was a great deal of cheering, but this was not inspired by the sentiments of the speech, but simply by kindly feelings towards myself, for the audience naturally are not very much interested in India.

“I have received to-day seventy letters, but none of those I have as yet opened seem to be of importance.

You must forgive me for these scurvy little scrawls, but I have innumerable stupid people to answer.

“ P.S.—They drank your health with great enthusiasm, and you will see that in my reply I compared you to a tutelary Greek goddess. Could a husband do more for his wife ? ”

On November 13, 1884, he took ship from London with Lady Dufferin and his daughter for Bombay.

CHAPTER XI.

INDIA.

NO Governor General ever came to India so well equipped by antecedent experience for the work as Lord Dufferin. Lord Elgin, indeed, had preceded him in Canada, and in two missions to China he had proved his high capacity for dealing with Oriental politics. But the appointments previously held by Lord Dufferin had been of such a kind that if they had been purposely undertaken as a course of preparatory training for the Indian Viceroyalty, a more appropriate selection could hardly have been made. In Syria, and long afterwards in Turkey, he had learnt the difficult art of dealing with Asiatic rulers and officials; he had studied their weakness and their strength. At St. Petersburg and Constantinople he had represented the interests of England on the Eastern Question, and all the issues connected with the wider field of Central Asia were familiar to him. Lastly, in Egypt he had been entrusted with a task that has been continually imposed upon the English government in India—the task of reforming and reconstructing under European superintendence the dilapidated fabric of an Oriental State.

In the beginning of December 1884, Lord and Lady Dufferin reached Bombay. Their arrival, and the Viceroy's first impressions of India, are described in a letter to Lady Dartrey—

January 13, 1885.—"We are now settled down at Cal-

cutta, though I have hardly yet recovered my breath after the tremendous plunge I have taken. The amount of business is overwhelming, but in other respects we are very prosperous. The place is beautiful; the climate is delicious; the society very pleasant; and in addition to the Calcutta residence we have a country house with a fine English park on the banks of the Ganges, about fourteen miles off. . . .

"Our landing in Bombay was really a beautiful sight. We were asked to remain on board the ship until half-past four in order that the troops and the spectators might not be inconvenienced by the sun. The fleet had been collected to add dignity to our 'Avatar,' and filled the bay with smoke and thunder. The town is situated on an island, or rather on a peninsula, with some picturesque heights and hills standing up round it. The temperature was exquisite, the atmosphere full of light, while balmy breezes prevented it being too hot. You can easily imagine the scene upon the quay, bright with guards of honour, cavalry escorts, and military and civil dignitaries in uniform; but what it would be impossible for you to conceive was the extraordinary strangeness and beauty of the streets. We had to drive six miles from the landing-stage to Government House, and the road on either side was lined by crowds of men in every sort of costume interspersed with others with scarcely any clothes at all. Indeed, there were a good many ladies who were by no means profusely clad. But what was unimaginable was the colouring of the whole. A bed of flowers gives you no conception of its brilliancy. Nor indeed was brilliancy its chief characteristic, but rather the most delicious harmony—subdued reds and blues and yellows intermingled with a confused mass of dusky limbs and faces, and eyes that sparkled like jewels. They cheered vociferously, with almost as full an intonation as an English crowd. At the same time they clapped their hands or bowed low, touching their foreheads or putting their palms together. As we passed from the richer quarters of the town into the streets where the mechanics dwelt, the spectacle was still more startling, as not only the streets but the windows of the houses were lined with a mass of human beings with scarcely a stitch on their bodies. In fact, there is nothing strikes the new comer so much as the summery appearance of everybody. . . .

"Nothing surprised me more than to find the European portion of Bombay having so much the appearance of a university town. It is crammed with handsome buildings in blue and white stone in the collegiate Gothic style. Many of these have been erected at the cost of rich Parsees. One school was filled with Parsee ladies and girls, dressed in every kind of lovely silk and satin.

"I opened an Institution for sick cattle. Having pulled the doors of a cowshed asunder amidst the cheers of the people, a gentleman advanced, bearing in his hand a tray filled with fruits and vegetables, cocoa-nuts and eggs, and bottles of variously coloured unguents. The eggs he dashed upon the ground, to the great detriment of the ladies' dresses. He broke the cocoa-nuts and sprinkled the milk around. He then smeared the lintels of the door-post with his red and yellow coloured ointments, and finally strewed the rest of the contents of his basket on the ground. It was like seeing a chapter of Leviticus in action.

"This house is an enormous building, like a body with four legs sprawling out from it. The body consists of a single hall floored with marble, and with a double row of marble columns running from one end of it to the other. The legs constitute four wings, in one of which my wife and I have pitched our tent, two of the remaining wings being devoted to guests.

"I liked Bombay much better than Calcutta, the air being far pleasanter. In Calcutta it is damp and muggy and more or less depressing, though not so much so, at all events at present, as the Bosphorus."

Very few Indian Viceroys have taken over charge of the greatest office under the British Crown without being startled by the volumé, importance, and complexity of the work that instantly encompasses them. After a fortnight in Calcutta Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Granville that in his new situation he felt "very like a man who has been suddenly pitched head foremost into a cauldron of hot water, who has risen to the top, choking and spluttering, and who finds it very difficult to keep his head above the rising inundation of business that pours in upon him from every side." Nevertheless he very soon made good his footing; and his first step

was to declare that a change in the Governor Generalship signified no breach between the future and the past.

“ I felt the necessity of being very weary in my first utterances ” (he wrote to Lord Halifax in January 1885) ; “ but I lost no time in making every one aware that there was to be no dissolution of continuity between Lord Ripon’s policy and my own. Nothing would have been more fatal than if a suspicion had gone abroad amongst the natives that I was disposed to abandon in any particular the friendly attitude he had so courageously maintained towards them. I sincerely trust that when he reaches England he will obtain the credit he deserves. No Viceroy has laboured so conscientiously or so uninterruptedly for the good of the millions entrusted to his care ; and I have been immensely struck by the ability, the moderation, and the good sense of his semi-official correspondence with Lord Kimberley. I have already announced my intention of fostering to the utmost of my power the beneficent projects he instituted for the good of the people ; and I shall be quite content if I can leave the country under the same honourable conditions which attended his departure.”

It may be here added that after eighteen months’ residence in India he wrote to Lord Ripon--

“ In all my private letters, whether addressed to your political opponents or to your friends, I have invariably borne the most earnest and warm testimony to the ability, the industry, the conscientiousness and the noble and lofty spirit which characterized your control of affairs, as was evinced by every paper of yours that came under my eye. The only criticism that has ever occurred to me in reference to your proceedings has been that in rendering yourself so popular with the natives, you have made the position a little difficult for your successor.”

One project of law, actually in hand and immediately urgent, was the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which had been initiated by Lord Dufferin’s predecessor. Of all legislative business that comes before the Indian Councils the adjustment of land tenures is perhaps the most im-

portant and difficult ; and since the questions that arise are essentially similar, though differentiated by local circumstance, the most convenient method of dealing with them here may be to give a concise and consecutive account of the three land laws passed under Lord Dufferin's administration ; although the chronological order of the general narrative must for this purpose be interrupted.

It is well known that some of the most serious and complicated problems of Indian government have grown out of the extraordinary diversity and intricacy of the land tenures in a country where they are almost as multiform and flexible as the religious beliefs. They have been made and marred by centuries of political and social vicissitudes, by the needs and expedients of chronic insecurity, and the slow alteration of economic conditions. From the beginning of our dominion there has hardly been a time when the government has not been occupied in some part of India with the investigation of systems of rent or rights, and with framing laws to finish disputes or to remedy agrarian grievances. Since all Asiatic States have drawn the greater part of their revenues from the land, the partition of the surplus profits of agriculture has invariably been to them a matter of high importance. But under the native rulerships there had been no continuity of the fiscal administrative system, for the alternate predominance of one side or of the other, of those who could exact the uttermost rent, and those who managed to withhold it, had produced a constant struggle and a swaying to and fro of the fiscal demand. In this manner, by this perpetual strife between conflicting interests, by local circumstances and the course of historic events, there had grown up the curious medley of systems, and the miscellaneous variety of proprietary and cultivating tenures, which the English found in the different provinces of India that came under their dominion. The fluctuating and precarious nature of all tenures antecedent to British rule, bearing traces of constant shifts and

violent changes, opened a door to every kind of theory as to the basis upon which the relations between landlord and tenant should be permanently recognized. Lord Ripon, as soon as his successful settlement of Afghanistan had left him at leisure for internal affairs, had turned his attention towards the hardly less arduous enterprise of readjusting the relations between landlord and tenant in two very important provinces of India. His proposals for the better protection of tenants in Bengal inevitably raised strenuous opposition from the most powerful body of landlords in India ; but for two years Lord Ripon had been carrying on the contest, yielding ground here and there, yet steadily holding his main points, until he made over the reins of office to his successor. It then became Lord Dufferin's duty to assume command of the legislative forces of the government in the field, and to complete an unfinished campaign.

The new Viceroy, however, was unusually familiar with almost all the issues raised by the Bengal Tenancy Bill. He had been Under-Secretary of State at the time when Lord Lawrence, as Governor General, by insisting on an investigation of the status of ryots in Oudh, set on foot a famous discussion, in which all the highest authorities in India and at the India Office took different sides. The active part which Lord Dufferin had constantly taken in discussions of the agrarian questions in Ireland, and the resemblance between those questions and similar problems in India, enabled him to preside over the debates of the Indian Council Chamber with weight and undeniable authority. No better training, in short, than that of the India Office and of Irish politics could have been given to a statesman who had to pass a Bengal Tenancy Bill within a few months after his arrival at Calcutta. What meaning and what measure of legal recognition should be allotted to usage and prescription, how far the law ought to interfere for the control and modification of agricultural contracts, to what extent double ownership in land can be adjusted

by definition, what limits should be placed on enhancement, ejectment, and distraint, how the tenants' right to make improvements and to be compensated for them on disturbance should be secured—all such questions are common, more or less with differences and variations, to Ireland and to India, to our greatest as to our earliest territorial acquisition by arms beyond the English seas. In India, as in Ireland, we were still actively engaged in mediating between the two interests of ownership and occupancy in agriculture—interests which still, as of old, lie at the basis of civil society, and are yet so sensitive to economic change that the most skilful attempts to distribute them formally or to provide by legislation, however elastic, for all the incidents of the connexion, have hitherto failed to prevent severe periodical strains. But whereas in Ireland the superior ownership and the rent went altogether to private landlords, in India both property and profit have usually been shared between the landholders and the State. This has given to all Indian administrations a very direct and substantial motive for looking vigilantly to the position and rights of the cultivators ; while, as Mr. Froude has observed, the fact that in India there is practically no English landlordism has kept these questions free from entanglement with the rivalry of races. To a Viceroy of Lord Dufferin's antecedents the whole subject presented features of curious analogy and familiar characteristics ; and he took an early occasion of publicly expressing his satisfaction at finding himself associated with the passing of the Act. In Canada he had found Irishmen who had no agricultural grievances ; in India he found the grievances without the political animosities of Ireland. In Egypt, again, the condition of the fellah, overburdened by mortgages, and at the mercy of usurers, resembled in some particulars the state of the Indian cultivator. Lord Dufferin's position enabled him to arbitrate with conclusive authority between landlord and tenant upon the several matters which, after long debate and still longer report-writing, still remained undetermined. The

final decision of the Legislative Council was on some of these points in favour of the landlord ; but the tenant's status, his hold on the land he occupied, and his safeguards against arbitrary dispossession, were all very materially strengthened by the Act as it was finally settled. The principle of the Act may be said to have been based upon a system of fixity of tenure at judicial rents ; and its three main objects were—first, to give the settled raiyat the same security in his holding as he enjoyed under the old customary law ; secondly, to secure to the landlord a fair share of the increased value of the produce of the soil ; and thirdly, to lay down rules by which all disputed questions between landlord and tenant could be reduced to simple issues and decided upon equitable considerations. The maintenance of the principles of the Act was further safeguarded by a section which restricted the power of entering into contracts to defeat its fundamental provisions. Lord Dufferin, in moving that the Bill should pass, disallowed in very plain terms the main contention of the landlord party, that an interference between Bengal zemindars and their tenants amounted to an infringement of the permanent settlement made by Lord Cornwallis in 1798. As a matter of fact, the measure supplemented and fulfilled reforms that Lord Cornwallis had been contemplating, but was obliged to leave incomplete.

A second measure of the same kind was passed later in Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty. In 1882 Lord Ripon's government, acting upon disclosures elicited by a particular case, had directed an inquiry to be made into the condition of the tenants in Oudh ; and upon the report thereafter submitted a scheme for protecting tenants from capricious eviction had been proposed to the Secretary of State. But as these proposals were not accepted, and were even generally discouraged, it remained for Lord Dufferin to decide whether they should be again pressed, after revision, upon the India Office, or whether the whole scheme should be dropped. Lord Dufferin, after taking counsel with the local authorities,

resolved that Lord Ripon's policy was right, and that for the purpose of protecting the tenant and improving his security, the law must be amended. Here again Lord Dufferin's experience, as a landlord and as a legislator, of similar difficulties and their remedies invested him with great influence in bringing the whole matter to an amicable conclusion. As the Bengal zemindars had appealed to the permanent settlement of 1798, so the Oudh talukdars were disposed to find their *magna charta* in a declaration made in 1866, that the Oudh tenant had been found to possess no right of prescriptive occupancy. Whether this meant that he must be left exposed in perpetuity to arbitrary ejectment or unlimited rack-renting, was the point at issue; but to attempt a recapitulation of the controversy would be now out of place. Every one agreed that rents must vary with the circumstances of a country, and no one maintained that in Oudh the ordinary tenant had any proprietary right in his holding. But the landlords claimed illimitable power to eject or enhance, while by law the cultivating tenure held good for twelve months only; a state of things that led to depression of the cultivating classes and was undeniably adverse to good farming. Many years before this time Lord Dufferin, in his speeches on the Irish land question, had pointed out that when large estates are ploughed out to small farms the farmers must make the improvements; and he had insisted on the necessity of giving them security and a period of lease adequate for profiting by the investment of their money. The situation was very much the same in Oudh; the evils to be cured were great insecurity of holdings and incessant competition among cottiers for the land; and the remedy applied was to prescribe a statutory period of tenure and to place a check upon indiscriminate enhancement of rents. The steady support given by Lord Dufferin to these moderate amendments of the law so far overcame the natural opposition of the talukdars, that the Oudh Rent Act was finally passed with their acquiescence.

The Act maintained the provisions of the former Act of 1868, in so far as they related to the 8000 tenants having a right of occupancy in Oudh, but materially altered the provisions of that Act in so far as they affected the 1,800,000 tenants-at-will. It enabled tenants-at-will to make improvements on their holdings, and entitled them on ejection to receive compensation for any subsisting improvements which they had made within thirty years preceding their ejection. It declared every such tenant to be entitled to retain his holding for a period of seven years, from the date of his rent being settled in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

The third and latest Land Tenancy Bill passed by Lord Dufferin's government relates to the Punjab. The different systems of land tenure established by English law in the three great provinces of Bengal, the North-West, and the Punjab represent mainly, of course, the state of things we found existing in the country. But they also reflect the changes which took place in our own policy as our knowledge of such questions extended with the expansion of our territory, and became more accurate. In Bengal our permanent revenue settlement at the end of the eighteenth century left the tenants with rights vaguely recognized but not guarded; in the North-West Provinces the Indian government took much trouble, about thirty years later, to protect at least one large class of occupants; while in the Punjab, which came last under British rule, the recognition and record of the rights of actual cultivators, proprietary or occupant, formed a chief feature of our land legislation. In the Punjab, as elsewhere in India, the uncertain value of land and the usual dread of the English system of fixed and inexorable demand for revenue, made the landlords not unwilling, when they first became our subjects, that the tenants should share their responsibility for revenue payment by obtaining a sort of co-proprietorship in the land. At first every one preferred the loose, haphazard method of native tax-gatherers, who sometimes took everything and often got nothing.

But as property became secure, and prices rose, the question of the proportionate division of the large and steady profits of agriculture became much more important, and naturally engendered a plentiful crop of litigation. Some twenty years ago an Act had been passed to effect a compromise on the matter ; but by 1886 the increasing disputes showed that the law needed amendment, and under Lord Dufferin's government the task was undertaken by the Punjab authorities. The Punjab is for the most part a country of small landowners and peasant proprietors, and it is with these that the tenants, a very numerous class, have to deal ; so that we have these two considerable bodies, of owners and tenants, both directly interested, and often more or less actually engaged, in the cultivation. The problem, therefore, was to distribute and define, as between these two very similar classes, the right of occupation and the profits of agriculture according to well-known usage and sentiment, especially in regard to prescriptive possession by length of tenure and to the reclamation of waste lands. The object of the Bill of 1866 had been to carry further this principle by supplementing and enlarging preceding laws ; it provided for the adjustment of rents in proportion to changes of the land-revenue demands ; it extended the period which must elapse between successive enhancements ; and it assessed on a more liberal scale the compensation payable to tenants for improvement, and, in certain cases, for disturbance. The Act which was passed, after much discussion, in 1887, was accepted without discontent or friction by the country.

In all these cases the way to final legislation was undoubtedly smoothed and straightened by the address, experience, and ability of the local officers. Nevertheless, when the general account of Lord Dufferin's government is made up, he may fairly be credited with the accomplishment of very material improvements of the land laws, to the benefit of the proprietary and cultivating classes in Bengal, in Oudh, and in the Punjab.

Not only in the department of interior legislation, but also in the very different sphere of external politics, Lord Dufferin, on assuming office, at once found himself encompassed by affairs of great urgency and importance.

In 1884 the Russians had occupied the Merv oasis ; they had subdued the Turkoman tribes of all that region in Central Asia, and the rapid extension of their dominions toward the south-east along the Oxus river had brought them into close proximity or contact with the north-west frontier of Afghanistan. This country had been placed, as has already been said, under the exclusive protectorate of England : we had formally undertaken to defend the independence of the Amir, and we had pledged ourselves to aid him in resisting foreign aggression, so long as he should defer to our advice in regard to his foreign relations.

But it was becoming quite clear that the onward march of Russia toward the Afghan frontier could not be checked by force, and at best would only be retarded by diplomatic remonstrance. The invasion of India by land has been the nightmare of Anglo-Indian statesmen from the time when Napoleon proposed to Russia, in 1808, his scheme for a joint expedition against India through Persia from Constantinople. Russian statesmen had always refused to bind themselves by any formal convention to stop short in the midst of the Central Asian plains, declaring with much reason that the conditions and circumstances of such a position would always be liable to unforeseen vicissitudes. Yet they had more than once made informal overtures to Great Britain for some such friendly understanding as would enable the two Powers to act in concert, and to accommodate differences. On our side it had become obvious that, upon the frontier question at any rate, we should do well to agree with our adversary quickly, instead of quarrelling with him. To safeguard the limits of our protectorate by sending troops into Afghanistan would be a costly and embarrassing operation, which might easily play

into the hands of Russia. To make an offensive and defensive alliance with the ruler of Kabul would be to sign a bond with an unstable and untrustworthy partner, leaving Russia quite free to involve us in awkward complications whenever it might suit her to do so. Our true policy was to deal with a civilized and responsible government for whom public engagements meant a substantial obligation, not to be violated in the face of Europe without grave consequences; and the only arrangement to which Russia could be expected to assent would be one that should agree to her advance up to the Afghan frontier, on the distinct condition that she would bind herself to go no further.

But territorial guarantees, when they are exchanged between European States, necessarily require exact definition. In this situation Lord Ripon's government had decided, very wisely, that Russia's approach could be effectively arrested and limited only by obtaining her assent to a convention for the joint demarcation of the Afghan frontier, so that a line might be drawn beyond which our guarantee would not extend, and which Russia could not overstep without a patent breach of formal engagements. The occupation of Merv by Russia in February 1884 was a forward movement that gave emphasis to this view, and expedited a decision upon it. Lord Ripon's plan was approved by the British government; it was accepted, after some diplomatic fencing, by Russia; and in 1884 a joint English and Russian Commission had met to begin the operation of laying down a boundary. We had now at last found ourselves in the situation which the British government had been endeavouring, throughout the nineteenth century, to prevent or delay—the meeting upon a common border-line of the two great European dominions in Asia; for it must always be remembered that our true frontier is that which we are pledged to defend. The immediate result of contact was to bring on the very crisis which the Commission had been designed to avert. In Asia the field of demarcation throws up, at the first

stirring of its soil, a crop of multifarious and thorny disputes. On these debatable lands possession and jurisdiction have been incessantly shifting, and while every man is intent on removing his neighbour's landmark, no Asiatic potentate willingly consents to a fixed and permanent limitation of his territorial claims. It was known that the Russians attached importance to the possession of Panjdeh, a strip of fertile valley-land lying within the territory claimed by the Afghans, and the Russian government had formally declared, in a despatch to the British Foreign Office, that the Afghan claim to this tract would be disputed. When the Boundary commissioners arrived on the frontier toward the end of November, it was found that a small party of Russian troops had already pushed close up to Panjdeh, with the apparent intention of occupying it beforehand. They were pressing into contact with the Afghan outposts; the commanders on both sides were discharging remonstrances and sharp recriminations; each party, as is usual in such cases, endeavouring to pre-occupy or to maintain the ground which was to be the point of controversy whenever the actual delimitation should begin.

Such was the critical and ominous state of affairs at the end of 1884, when Lord Dufferin took charge of the Governor Generalship. It should be understood that the Boundary commissioners were subordinate to the British and Russian Foreign Offices respectively, that the Indian government had no direct control over their proceedings, and that all correspondence, reports, and orders passed between the chiefs of the commission on the one hand and St. Petersburg or London on the other. The result was that while ministers and ambassadors were interchanging despatches and minuting arguments in Europe, their officers on the spot were manœuvring against each other with a cross-fire of acrimonious messages and protests. In situations of this kind arguments are heating, particularly with folk who, like Afghans and Cossacks, split heads more neatly than hairs; and the horsemen on both sides were soon handling their carbines. The

Russians were rapidly disclosing an intention to enforce their demands by using their military superiority, and were bringing up reinforcements from their Transcaspian garrisons. Not far within the disputed frontier line lay the important Afghan fortress of Herat, very insufficiently fortified, so that early in March (1885) the Indian government was instructed from home to assemble a *corps d'armée*, which should be prepared to march across Afghanistan, for the relief of that place, in the event of an open rupture with Russia. The whole country round was astir with rumours of war; the Afghan troops on the frontier line became excited as the Russians began to push through their picquets; the Russians declared that the Afghans were edging round to their rear. Stringent orders had been issued by each government, from London and from St. Petersburg, that their military commanders should remain strictly on the defensive; but when armed men are actually facing each other, any movement becomes menacing and may be treated as aggressive. At last, on March 30, when the Afghan troops had taken up a position on the left bank of the Kushk river, General Komaroff demanded their withdrawal, and on the refusal of the Afghan commander, the Russians attacked them, drove them back with heavy loss, and, having declared Panjdeh to be Russian ground, drew back their troops to their former position.

At the moment when this startling event occurred on the Russian border of Afghanistan, a very different scene was represented on the Indian side. While the troops of the Afghan Amir were confronting General Komaroff on the Kushk river, the Amir himself was a guest in the Viceroy's camp, surrounded by a British army, at Râwal Pindi, a military station not far from the Indus in a northern district of the Punjab. Before the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British troops in the summer of 1880, Abdurrahman had been formally recognized as ruler, and had assumed the government at Kabul. He had been furnished with money and munitions of

war ; he had defeated his rival Ayub Khan, who had attempted to seize Kandahar ; and he was rapidly trampling down all opposition to his authority. One of Lord Dufferin's first acts, after arriving in Calcutta, had been to invite the Amir to meet him in India, for the interchange of views and in order to promote a friendly understanding upon various eventualities and questions between the two governments, whose interests were now so closely assimilated. Of all these matters for discussion the dangerous entanglement of affairs on the north-western frontier of Afghanistan, where swords had been already half drawn to cut the knot, was imperatively the foremost. The Viceroy's invitation was readily accepted by Abdurrahman, who crossed the border into India on the same day when his troops were attacked by the Russians at Panjdeh, and on March 31 he reached Râwal Pindi, where the Viceroy had arrived two days previously from Calcutta.

“ Unfortunately ” (Lord Dufferin wrote), “ we have been deluged with rain ever since we came here, and it was raining hard when the Amir passed from the railway station to his quarters. Ten thousand of the troops, however, turned out, and presented a very businesslike appearance. Fortunately, we have put our guests into an excellent house instead of under canvas, so that everything was dry and comfortable for him, and, like all Orientals, he looks upon rain as a good omen. Moreover, as there were three feet of snow when he left Kabul, he does not find it so cold as the rest of us who have come up from lower Bengal. I hear on all sides that he has been well pleased with his reception, both at the frontier and here. His great fear seems to have been lest, as our nominee, he should not be treated with sufficient honour, so that he fully appreciates all that has been done for him. The grand Durbar had been arranged for the same afternoon, but the rain compelled us to postpone it, and it will not now be held until the end of the Amir's visit. As it was necessary to get to business as soon as possible, I arranged for him to come to me privately the same day. I had the Duke of Connaught in my tent, and the Amir was greatly gratified at finding the Queen's son waiting to greet him. The next

day the Duke and I returned his visit, and the day after I had my first serious conversation with him. He is a broad-shouldered burly man, big rather than tall, with small eyes, a broad and rather pleasant face, with no trace whatever of the hook-nosed, keen-eyed, Jewish Afghan type. He walks lame, and has suffered for years from neuralgia in the leg."

The meeting, to those who witnessed it, was a remarkable sight. The Viceroy was an embodiment of diplomatic courtesy and refined culture, familiar with all the courts and capitals of the West. The Amir—"a strange strong creature," as Lord Dufferin described him—had fought bravely but unsuccessfully in the long and bloody civil war, very like our wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century, for succession to the throne after the death of his grandfather, Dost Mahomed. He knew his own country well; but of the outer world he had seen only the Russian military stations beyond the Oxus, where he had remained eleven years in exile. He wore a black half-uniform coat decorated with two diamond stars, long boots, and a tall Astrakhan cap: a prince of frank and even bluff, yet courteous, manners; quite at his ease amid a crowd of foreigners; speaking pleasantly of the first railway journey he had ever undertaken; a man of some humour in jokes, with a face occasionally crossed by a look of implacable severity—the look of Louis XI. or Henry VIII.—that is now never seen in civilized life. The interviews that followed must have been of striking interest and novelty even to a diplomatist of Lord Dufferin's wide and varied experience. The Amir showed a clear and shrewd understanding not only of his own position, but also of its bearing upon the relations between Russia and England; and the discussion was proceeding satisfactorily when matters were suddenly brought to a sharp point by the news of the collision between Afghan and Russian troops at Panjdeh. It was undoubtedly fortunate that the Amir was in the English camp at this critical moment. There was something very characteristic, and

certainly unexpected, in the equanimity, almost amounting to indifference, with which Abdurrahman first heard of an incident that startled all the courts and cabinets of Europe, and very nearly kindled a great war. While the English government treated the act of the Russians as, at first sight, an offence of the utmost political gravity, the Amir evidently regarded it as one of those not intolerable irregularities which occasionally happen on a rough unsettled frontier, and which are not supposed to have any necessary connexion with formal hostilities. This manner of looking at a border skirmish has disappeared from western Europe, where the strict construction of international laws and responsibilities, and the jealousy of nations, have given to modern states a highly sensitive organization. Yet it was familiar enough to ourselves up to the sixteenth century, and in central Asia a ruler would have no peace at all if he troubled himself overmuch about such accidents.

In the course of the conversation that followed Lord Dufferin warned the Amir that the fortifications of Herat were in a condition quite insufficient for resisting a sudden assault; and he proposed sending up British officers to organize its defence. Abdurrahman replied in a very explicit and determined manner that though he himself was grateful for the offer he could not answer for his people, "they were ignorant, brutal, and suspicious: he had fought with them himself for four years, and we must not suppose that he could control them, or move them about like pieces on a chess-board." Above all things he deprecated any British troops appearing in his country; the Afghans would at once imagine they had come to subjugate it. When it became evident that on this latter point he was immovable, Lord Dufferin said to him—

"Had you cordially placed yourself in our hands and allowed us to secure Herat and take the other precautions necessary, we should have been prepared to recommend

you to fight manfully for the original frontier you have claimed, for Panjdeh, Badghis, and all that territory ; but as you are unwilling to do any of these things, and as you yourself seem to attach but little importance to Panjdeh, and admit that you have no real hold on the tribes of that district, it seems to me that the wisest thing you can do is to abate something of your territorial pretensions, and to come to such a settlement with Russia as will give you a little breathing time to strengthen your position at Herat, and to inoculate your people with your own views as to the value of our friendship and assistance. To this he replied with some eagerness that he was just about to make the very remark I had uttered ; namely, that if only he had four or five years' time to look about him, he would be able to increase his forces by various devices, and to do everything required at Herat."

In short, the fixed and unalterable principle of the Amir's policy, to which he adhered resolutely during the whole twenty years of his subsequent reign, was discovered to be the exclusion at all hazards of British troops and officers from Afghanistan. His attitude toward Russia was substantially the same—he was determined, he said, that his country should not be the battlefield of several nations. If the Russians invaded it, he would expostulate and protest ; and would fight to the death if expostulations failed.

" His people would see that a slow advance toward India through Afghanistan meant to them roads, occupation of fortified posts, demand for unprocurable supplies—in fact nothing less than famine, ruin, and absolute loss of independence ; they would never allow it."

These latter words should be considered by those who hold the commonplace belief that the Afghans would readily join the Russians in an invasion of India, if the bait of plundering the rich plains were held out to them. Nor can it be doubted that the energetic utterances of the Amir interpreted the fears and feelings of all his people, to whom an English army of occupation is hardly less distasteful than a Russian invasion.

The Amir's policy was quite clear and well defined. Afghanistan (he said) "was between two millstones, and it had already been ground to powder. It was a boat between two waves, where oars were of no avail, and it would founder." War between Russia and England spelt utter destruction to his country, and his supreme interest was to avoid such a calamity. From the British government he asked nothing more than arms and money; for the rest he would depend on his own fortune and resources; and he even let drop some unguarded words to the effect that at the worst terms might be made by him with Russia that would be more to his advantage than to ours. To Lord Dufferin—who was well aware that the march of a British army to the further side of Afghanistan would be a hazardous and difficult enterprise—the Amir's decided refusal of any assistance in that shape came as an unexpected relief from the liabilities arising out of the territorial guarantee; and therefore, while all military preparations were continued in India, his private advices to the British government were that hostilities might be avoided. Rifles and rupees were liberally promised to the Amir, who returned to Kabul entirely satisfied with his reception.

In his autobiography, published many years afterwards, Abdurrahman has recorded the impression left upon him by his hosts in the camp at Râwal Pindi.

"It was a great delight" (he says) "to me to meet Lady Dufferin, who was the cleverest woman I had ever seen, and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, to whom I found that the hearts of all their Indian subjects were devoted. . . . Lord Dufferin left India in 1888 to the great sorrow and regret of all the subjects and friends of the Indian empire. The people had never seen such a wise statesman as their Viceroy, and Lady Dufferin's residence in India was of hardly less importance than that of her husband."

In a letter to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, then Governor of Madras, the Viceroy gave an account of his

conferences with the Amir, and communicated his general impressions thereupon—

“ You will be glad to know what really took place between the Amir and myself.

“ In the first place there can be no doubt that he was very well satisfied as far as his *amour propre* and personal sentiments are concerned. His great fear was lest having been a nominee of our own, he should be treated more like a feudatory than an independent ruler. When therefore he found that he was surrounded by all the attributes of royalty, welcomed by one of the Queen's sons, and received as an ally, his gratification was undisguised. The bayonets at the end of the sentries' muskets at his gate disturbed him a little until he learnt that my *sentries'* muskets were furnished forth in the same formidable manner ; and there were other little circumstances which excited his suspicions at the commencement of his stay. But as day succeeded day, and he found his treatment if possible bettered and bettered, he altogether thawed, and became at last quite effusive, as you will have seen by the newspapers. In his private conversations with me he was very satisfactory, as far as words went, and after all, at an interview of this kind, words are the only coin current. The principal object I was anxious to attain was the freeing of the hand of Her Majesty's government in relation to the delimitation of the Afghan frontier. When this subject was originally mooted, instead of asking him to point out what he claimed to be his frontier, we made the mistake of indicating it ourselves. . . . It would take too long to tell you how the final result was reached, but after a second interview I had the satisfaction of telegraphing to Lord Kimberley that as far as the Amir was concerned, he might run the line almost as far south as the Russians themselves required. In this way the English government recovered its complete liberty of action, but you will understand that my proceedings in the matter do not imply any acquiescence on the part of the Indian Executive in a modification of the frontier. That can only be decided in accordance with the strategical requirements of the locality. . . . My own military advisers do not consider that it very much matters within certain limits where the line goes, or that the Russian boundary being drawn a day or two's march nearer or further from Herat materially affects the question of the safety of that place. . . .

"Having successfully settled with the Amir the chief point I wanted to discuss with him, I then showed him our troops on two successive days. The spectacle was magnificent, consisting on the first day of a march past in a very picturesque though somewhat confined locality, which, however, afforded great opportunities for evincing the dexterity of the commanding officer in manipulating the large masses with which he had to deal. The next day the army was drawn up in line on an extensive plain. The rain which for the first few days had bothered us, now proved to be very beneficial, as the dust was completely laid, and we could see to the horizon. There can be no doubt that the Amir is far too sagacious not to have understood the significance of the scenes presented to him. Indeed it was to these, and to other cognate circumstances, that we are indebted for the way in which he declared himself at the Durbar.

"The Durbar was a magnificent sight, and we were again favoured by the weather; but when the Amir asked leave to say something 'that could be heard at a distance,' I was a little nervous lest he should give vent to some untoward utterance. Still it was better to risk such a contingency than to show any hesitation in the matter, so I at once told him that every one would be happy to hear any remarks he might be pleased to make. On this, he delivered the speech which you will have read in the newspapers. It greatly surprised the natives, who were all unfavourable to him, as they were not prepared for his giving such absolute pledges for his good faith in the presence of the Mussulman world of the East, in whose sight he would be disgraced did he ever hereafter break them; but so far from the Amir himself showing any regret at what perhaps he did in a moment of enthusiasm, he has frequently reiterated the assurances he then made in as strong if not stronger terms, and in as public a manner.

"With my subsequent conversations with him I need scarcely trouble you, as in common with every one else you must have foreseen their inevitable tenor. It has been long since determined by Her Majesty's government at home, and by my military advisers here, that it would be undesirable for us to send an army to Herat, unless hereafter compelled to do so by the force of circumstances. I consequently made it a point to show no anxiety whatever to send troops into the Amir's country. In fact I

told him that, even should he require them, it must depend upon circumstances whether we should determine to help him in that particular manner. On the other hand he himself intimated very frankly that the memory of our last war with Afghanistan was still fresh in the minds of his people, and that an advance on our part in force would still be looked upon by them as an endeavour to conquer their country, until he should have had an opportunity of acquainting them with the result of his interview with me, and had imbued them with a more friendly feeling towards us. I told him, however, that we would freely give him guns for Herat on his consenting to allow our engineers to determine their calibre, number, and positions. . . . He was very reasonable in his demands for money, and said that he did not want any increase to his subsidy, but that if the Afghans were called upon to leave their homes in Afghanistan and fight Russia round Herat, Afghanistan was too poor to furnish the necessary commissariat. . . .

"The last day we made him a Knight of the Star of India. This was the crowning drop that made his cup flow over, and even his impassive countenance could not conceal his satisfaction. He stuck his star through his coat, and departed with the collar over his shoulder, as pleased as a young bride with a diamond necklace.

"So far then as words go, and as the impressions of the moment are concerned, things have gone off sufficiently satisfactorily. To what degree the Amir may be able or willing to make good his engagements is a totally different matter. I do not think he will ever prove actually false, for all his interests manifestly compel him to throw in his lot with us; but unfortunately with an Oriental two and two make five as often as four. His health moreover is bad, and his temper imperious and fretful. His people too may prove intractable, and he may have to sacrifice his external policy to the exigencies of his personal situation at home. Still on the whole, the betting is in our favour so far as the Amir and even his people are concerned. What is against us is the geographical position. We have undertaken to defend the inviolability of a frontier nearly a thousand miles from our own borders. . . .

"We can only preserve Afghanistan from invasion by threatening to go to war with Russia all over the world. This Her Majesty's government had determined to do, and has given sufficient proof of its being in earnest; but the

battle between the two countries will be as difficult to settle as would be a fight between a whale and an elephant. In any event we are well forward with our preparations here. As soon as I saw that the difficulty with Russia was becoming serious, I determined to prepare for the despatch of 25,000 men to Quettah in order to be able to throw a garrison into Herat, if we were ordered to do so from home, before the Russians could get there; and arrangements have been made for the mobilization of another *corps d'armée* at short notice, so that we have only to pull the trigger and we could get 50,000 good troops across the border at once. In four months a temporary railway will be constructed from Sibi right up to Quettah, which will greatly diminish the cost of transport. Further reinforcements will arrive from England if war is declared, which would enable us to send to the front a considerable proportion of the British troops which we have marked off as a sufficient garrison for the peninsula. It is difficult at present to forecast the plan of the campaign should war be declared. Whatever was done here would have to be done in concert with the government at home, and the movements of our troops combined with the operations against Russia elsewhere. The Indian army is only a wing of the British force, and our real Commander-in-Chief will be in London. I had no notion till now what the terms transport and supplies really mean, and how helpless the finest troops are if these cannot be obtained. The country round Quettah is so barren that any troops sent there would have to move on at once, and this in spite of our having ransacked all India for beasts of burden and stores. . . .

"I warned the Amir that if he did not succeed in keeping Herat out of the hands of Russia, we in self-defence in all probability would be compelled to move to Kandahar, to which he assented."

To Lord Northbrook the Viceroy wrote a few weeks later—

"On the whole the row with Russia has been by no means an unmixed evil. On the one hand it has proved conclusively that all India, both princes and people, are fully aware that with all its imperfections the English domination is preferable to that of any other nation. In

the next place it has brought into satisfactory prominence the enormous difficulty which Russia would have in advancing against our own proper frontier, which with a little time I believe can be rendered absolutely impregnable. I hope you will approve of the policy I have adopted towards the Amir. It seemed to me that now there was only one mode of dealing with him. Under Lord Ripon's agreement we were bound to protect the integrity of his dominions. The time had certainly come when he was entitled to call for our assistance. Neither we nor he was anxious that this assistance should be given in troops. The only other alternative therefore was arms and money. I am accordingly in the course of furnishing him with breech-loaders, some heavy guns for Herat, and ten lacs of rupees. This of course is liberal, but by no means extravagant treatment. It is as much or rather more than he has demanded, and ought to convince him, if that were needed, that we are sincerely anxious to befriend him. Had we haggled and boggled, shown suspicion, and sent him away disappointed, we would, I think, have made a mistake. Of course it is a somewhat gambling transaction, but the odds I consider to be in our favour, and after all it is only money that we stand to lose, and that by no means a large sum, even if he were eventually to get a good deal more from us. . . . Our present policy is not to enter Afghan territory against the will of the people. At the same time I fear we are leaning upon rather a feeble reed. The Amir's hold over the dwellers on the western slopes of the Hindu Kúsh is evidently weak, and I have been sometimes urged to coquette with these tribes on my own account, but I have rejected such counsels. Abdurrahman is the strongest man in the country, and if we are to keep the Afghans with us, it must be through their government, and not by intriguing with the disaffected sections of the people. . . ."

From Lord Northbrook's reply the following extract is taken :—

" You would have been pleased if you had heard the warm terms in which a missionary from Allahabad, who breakfasted with me yesterday, spoke of you. He said your manner of treating both Europeans and natives is perfect, and that your influence is very great and in the

best direction. He especially mentioned the effect produced by your reception of the Natives at Delhi. As this is not flattery, and I know the work is so heavy that a little encouragement don't come ill, I write it."

It had been provisionally arranged between the Russian and English governments that Panjdeh should be neutralized until the dividing line on that section of the frontier could be agreed upon by the Commission. On this point diplomatic discussions were still going on in Europe, while the question of peace or war hung in the balance, when in June 1885 Mr. Gladstone's Ministry resigned, and Lord Kimberley wrote to Lord Dufferin his official adieu on quitting the Indian Secretaryship of State. He was succeeded, in the Conservative ministry, by Lord Randolph Churchill, who said, in his first letter to the Viceroy—

"Our one desire is, in all Indian and Asiatic affairs, to be mainly and even entirely guided by your advice, and to support to the utmost of our power the policy which you may recommend to us."

Lord Salisbury, now Prime Minister, determined to renew with the Russian government the negotiations regarding further delimitation of the Afghan frontier, at the point where they had been left by the previous ministry; and Colonel West Ridgeway * was appointed to take charge of the Commission. The Russian claim to Panjdeh, which the Amir had agreed not to oppose, was conceded; and the work went on with much unavoidable wrangling over local questions, until the principal difficulty, upon which the Commission could not agree, was finally settled by the deputation of Colonel Ridgeway to St. Petersburg. It was chiefly through his management of the business, in personal intercourse with the Czar and the Russian Foreign Office, that in July 1887 a protocol was at last signed, which provided

* Now the Right Honble Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G.

for the delimitation of the whole frontier between the Hari Rud and the Oxus.

Lord Dufferin was now established at Simla, the summer headquarters of the Indian government in the Himalayas.

On May 15 he wrote to Lady Dartrey—

“After Rāwal Pindi we visited Lahore and Amritsar. At Lahore I saw some beautiful mosques and the palace and tomb of Ranjīt Singh. All the buildings are of marble, inlaid with delicate patterns in cement of various colours, and the windows of all the apartments are filled with lovely lace-work in white marble. But the most wonderful sight is what is called the golden temple of Amritsar—the sacred shrine of the Sikhs. This is a small building, something like St. Mark’s at Venice, but covered both domes and walls with golden plates, so that it and its marble foundations shine in the sun like a blazing altar. . . .

“The principal Sikh priests and dignitaries had prepared a baptism for our entertainment, and made two Sikhs in our presence. The Sikhs are made and not born. The ceremony is a very simple one, consisting in sprinkling the neophytes with water, touching them with steel, and then requiring them to feed each other with bread and honey out of an iron basin held between them. . . .

“We have now come up to Simla, an absurd place situated on the narrow saddle of one of a hundred mountainous ridges that rise around us in labyrinthine complexity like the waves of a confused and troubled sea, composing the lower ranges of the Himalayas, whose silver peaks stand up against the horizon some fifty miles away. We ourselves are at a height of seven thousand feet above the sea. The air is delicious, most healthy and bracing, but anything more funny than the appearance of the town you cannot imagine. It consists of innumerable little miniature Swiss cottages which are perched like toy houses in every nook and corner and cranny where they can get a foothold on the ridge of a Himalayan spur. It looks like a place of which a child might dream after seeing a pantomime. If you look up from your garden-seat you see the gables of a cottage tumbling down on the top of you. If you lean over your terrace wall you look down your neighbour’s chimney-pots. That the capital of the Indian empire should be thus hanging on by its eyelids to the

side of a hill is too absurd. But there are the most charming walks—shady paths cut into the side of the mountain up and down hill in every direction, and wherever you go splendid rhododendrons thirty feet high covered with blossoms, while whole tribes of monkeys spring from branch to branch of the thick growing trees."

From this cool and pleasant eminence Lord Dufferin still kept his eye on the distant Afghan frontier, where the horizon was cloudy and the outlook full of hazards. In 1880 the Governor General of India (Lord Ripon) had formally assured the Amir Abdurrahman that the British government, admitting no right of interference by foreign powers in his country, undertook to aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression, provided that he followed our advice in regard to external relations. This straightforward declaration of a protectorate satisfied the Amir, who required no less while he certainly desired no more ; and it has preserved for twenty-four years the integrity and independence of Afghanistan. On the inevitable risks and responsibilities thus created, Lord Dufferin in his letters to Lord Randolph Churchill makes some commentaries that are still applicable to the present situation ; the more so because the Afghan ruler upon whose strength and sagacity Lord Dufferin justly relied for the success of the experiment, has passed away.

July 30, 1885.—"I have never personally felt very cordially inclined to the 'Buffer' policy, and have often had misgivings as to the wisdom of the engagements into which we entered with the Amir under the auspices of my predecessor. In spite of the cautious wording of the agreement its obligations are very absolute and specific, especially as entered into by a Power like England with a weak and uncivilized government. Under this stipulation, we are bound to assist the Amir to the best of our ability, though in whatever manner we may think expedient, in the event of the integrity of his dominions being threatened by a foreign power. Now, what are his dominions ? A range of thinly populated and open frontier many hundreds of miles in length, destitute of strategical positions, and of defenders skilful enough to use them to advantage if they

did exist, exposed at all points to the incursions of every neighbour, and so distant from our own military base as to make it out of the question for us to send any troops to protect what we have undertaken to defend. This condition of affairs compels us to combine such efforts as it may be possible for us to make with those of an ignorant, jealous, and boastful, though resolute and intelligent chief, whose own position and freedom of action are endangered and hampered by circumstances and considerations which render it difficult for him to comply with our wishes or follow out any programme we may trace for him, even when it is in accordance with his own ideas and obvious interests. Unfortunately in many instances some of our recommendations are naturally opposed to what he or any one else in his position might fairly consider to be advantageous to the maintenance of his own authority and independence. Even supposing that the ruler himself were to prove as docile as we could desire, his subjects consist of a conglomeration of insubordinate tribes, or else of alien races hating his rule, and ready to welcome the first comer who will advance to their liberation, while most of the lieutenants through whom he administers his Provinces are either incompetent, disobedient, corrupt, or disloyal, and sometimes all these things at once. It is evident that an offensive and defensive alliance with a person so situated possesses every sort of uninviting characteristic; but when we have further to take into account the duplicity natural to every Afghan, the facilities for intrigue elsewhere, and the consequent chance of all our friend's professions being insincere, the advantages to be derived from the 'Buffer' policy become very attenuated. And yet, for all that, I think it was very natural that Ripon should have desired to try it; and I am strongly of opinion that, once embarked on the experiment, it should be uninterruptedly pursued until its failure has become manifest. Nor am I at all convinced that its failure is certain. On the contrary, if only given a fair, and above all a patient trial, the betting is rather in favour of its success than otherwise. Even were this expectation to be disappointed, except so far as the loss of a few lacs of rupees is concerned, we shall not find ourselves in a worse position than if the experiment had not been made. The reasons for these conclusions are as follows: In the first place, with all its defects, the personal character of the Amir and his present

frame of mind are not unsuited to the *role* we wish him to perform, and the ends we have in view. He is a good administrator; he is absolute master of his own house; he is energetic, brave, and, according to his lights, sagacious. Above all things, I believe that he wishes to run as straight as his own domestic interests will permit him. Everything that I have learned confirms the impression that he has determined to throw in his lot with us, always provided that we show no signs of a desire to interfere with his independence or to insist upon anything calculated to diminish his prestige or his authority over his subjects."

August 14, 1885.—"The weak point in the 'Buffer' policy is that the frontier we have undertaken to assist in defending is too long, unprotected, and distant to be capable of protection, and above all that the Afghans are too little interested in these outlying provinces to be likely to fight for them with any heart. Herat is in some respects to Afghanistan what Khartoum is to Egypt. . . . It brings no revenue to the Afghan treasury, and its inhabitants hate the Afghan domination. It is true I was always in favour even of Egypt holding Khartoum as long as she could do so with any prospect of success,—a condition which existed until poor Hicks was driven into making his unfortunate expedition into Kordofan—and of course I am still more anxious that Afghanistan should maintain its hold upon Herat. . . . At all events, if properly managed, I think the Afghans could be turned into far more effective and trustworthy *chevaux de frise* when lining the crests of the Hindu Kûsh than when fighting in the valley of the Hari Rud or along the fringes of the Turkestan desert. Far more reliance could be placed on their valour and efficiency when battling for their homes and native country than for their outlying dependencies. They would occupy the inner lines of the position, as well as a range of frontier of manageable and defensible dimensions; and as they would have had a good deal of their egregious vanity and self-confidence knocked out of them by their preliminary reverses, we should find them more manageable and docile than they are at present."

Lord Randolph Churchill replied—

August 28, 1885.—"I was so greatly impressed by the extremely lucid and impartial exposition of the advan-

tages and disadvantages of the Buffer State policy contained in your letter to me of July 30 that I extracted it from the letter and circulated it among my colleagues, who will, by means of it, be better educated on the subject than they have been hitherto, and more capable of advising and deciding upon the course of Indian foreign policy. I concur entirely in all your conclusions, and I may perhaps be allowed to express my own opinion that, judging by present results and from information from various sources, your diplomacy with the wayward Afghan has been so successful and happy that, without undue over-confidence, we may fairly congratulate ourselves that he and his people are settling down into a groove favourable to British interests, and that the advice of the worker of this marvel should be most carefully followed by the government at home. . . . This much is certain, that you can do more with the British public than any Viceroy has been able to do since the days of Lord Lawrence."

By the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier, the question between England and Russia as to their respective spheres of influence was set at rest for the remainder of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty, and indeed up to the present time.

Lord Dufferin's opinion had always been much in favour of fixing the Afghan frontier by a convention with Russia. In his view, although the line settled might be weak strategically, it could hardly fail to prove a considerable moral barrier. In the first place, it coincides more or less with a natural, clearly defined, and long-established social and political boundary. When the Russians had established their authority in Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, they found themselves in contact with a region intervening between their possessions and the Afghan border, inhabited by the nomad and predatory tribes of Turkestan; and it was clear to Lord Dufferin, as it had long been to all impartial and experienced observers, that a further advance would be inevitable. Between lawless barbarians and a regular government no frontier is tenable or durable, and Lord Dufferin has recorded his conviction that the establish-

ment of Russia's authority up to its present limits was not only imposed upon her by the necessities of the situation, but would be conducive to the general interests of humanity and civilization. But when the Russians reached Zulficar, Panjdeh, and Kham-i-Ab, on the north-western edge of Afghanistan, where the nomad tract ended, they had come upon more or less cultivated territory, inhabited by a comparatively settled population that has for generations owed allegiance to a compact and responsible government. The position was now completely altered; the circumstances which had provided Russia with a valid excuse for pushing forward her landmarks existed no longer; and the next step onward must bring her into collision with a substantial kingdom which England had declared her intention to protect. Any such encroachment upon Afghan soil could only be made by an open breach of international law, and of friendly relations with Great Britain, that could not fail to attract attention throughout Europe. It was Lord Dufferin's belief that considerations of expediency and good faith, combined with the chances of European politics, which might pre-occupy the Russians elsewhere, would operate to deter them from moving forward under such conditions, or would at least materially delay it. In writing at length on the situation toward the end of his Viceroyalty, he said—

“I am one of those who do not believe that Russia will actually invade India during the present century, unless indeed she should produce a hero with the genius and ambition of Napoleon or Alexander, and even then I think she would come to grief.”

After the meeting at Râwal Pindi with the Amir, Lord Dufferin passed the summer of 1885 at Simla, whence in October he set off with Lady Dufferin for a journey through Rajputana—the country of the Rajput chiefs. Lady Dufferin notes in her diary (October 20), “We breakfasted at eight o'clock—at a quarter-past the Viceroy signed the declaration of war with Burmah;” and

at half-past eight they were driving down the hill. On their way through the lower hills toward the plains they visited the small principality of Nahun.

"We left Simla in the middle of October, and began our march. 'Marching' in India is a technical term signifying riding on horseback and camping every night, instead of travelling by railway, or along the high-road in post carriages. Our route lay through the hill state of Nahun. The Chief himself insisted on being my host, and as a consequence at the end of every day's journey we found ready for us a beautiful little white city of canvas laid out in streets, which lamp-posts illuminated and policemen guarded. For my especial advantage beautiful fireplaces were built in the dining and bedrooms, and no government residence could have been more comfortable. In former days the triumphal march of heroes was recorded by the altars they erected to their patron gods. My progress will be marked out by the successive chimney-pieces which were provided for me. Nahun's little kingdom stretches from very nearly Simla to the plains, and is composed of the lowermost ridges and spurs of the Himalayas. Every day I beguiled the weariness of the journey, which we performed almost at a foot's pace, by making the policeman who accompanied me tell me tales in Persian out of the 'Arabian Nights,' to which the local colouring gave an appropriate background. The scenery was lovely, being softer and better wooded than the neighbourhood of the Viceregal Lodge. On the third day we reached our host's capital, a very pretty town of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, with a castle, a maidán, a palace, and all the appurtenances of a feudal state. He himself is a man of some mark, speaks English a little, is an excellent administrator, and very loyal. . . .

"Delhi entirely surpassed my expectations in its interest. The breaches made in the walls by our cannon are left in exactly the same state as they were on the day of the assault, and you can plainly trace the paths up which our poor fellows climbed to almost certain destruction. It was undoubtedly one of the greatest feats of arms ever performed by Englishmen, but one has to come to the spot to realize the nature of the achievement."

A picturesque and amusing narrative of the whole tour

through the Rajput States is to be found in Lady Dufferin's book.* From Agra, where the tour ended, Lord Dufferin wrote—

November 29, 1885.—"Were I to go over all that I have done during the last two or three weeks it would be but a repetition of what I have told you, for all our receptions at the Rajput Courts have been of the same character, though differing from one another in details. The most Eastern-looking and splendid of all was at Jeypore. There is a beautiful palace and courtyard, upon whose marble floors lighted by torches several hundred young Nautch girls danced before us.

"Here of course we have been busy with the usual sights. In the Taj I was not in the least disappointed, though from an architectural point of view it is the outcome of a period of art on the verge of degradation. It is in the state of a ripe pear which you must get up in the middle of the night to eat before it has turned rotten at the core by morning. As it is, it has just escaped, and is certainly lovely both in its general effect and in its details."

Lionel, Lord Tennyson's second son, had made a visit to India at Lord Dufferin's invitation in 1885. On a shooting excursion in Assam he had caught a fever; and when on his return to Calcutta he became dangerously ill, he was tended for three months at Government House with the utmost care and sympathy; but he died near Aden on his voyage home in April 1886.

The volume "*Demeter and other Poems*," published subsequently by Lord Tennyson, is dedicated to the Marquis of Dufferin "as a tribute of affection and gratitude," and contains the verses, addressed to him, in which the poet laments his son's death on a distant sea "beneath alien stars," and records his feeling of lifelong thankfulness to those who had treated him with such unmeasured kindness during his fatal illness.

"But while my life's late eve endures
Nor settles into hueless gray,
My memories of his briefer day
Will mix with love for you and yours."

* "Our Viceregal Life in India."

The poem was sent in manuscript to Lord Dufferin after his return from India. He replied, to Lady Tennyson—

June 17, 1889, London.—"Your letter and its enclosure found me still in bed though better, and I am to be moved to-day to the seaside. But if anything could make a sick man well on the instant, it would be that lovely and touching poem. I feel so grateful to your husband for it; not only for the great honour done me, but a thousand times more for the way in which he has associated my wife and me with his own and your great grief, for who could give any one a greater proof of his love and friendship than by uniting them with himself in that sacred tie? If I were stronger I would say a great deal more, but I am sure you will understand all that we feel.

"Ever yours most gratefully and affectionately."

During this winter (1885) the British army in northern India was engaged upon military manœuvres planned out by Lord Roberts on a much larger scale than had hitherto been attempted. Twelve officers representing foreign European armies had arrived to witness them; and Lord Dufferin made the journey from Calcutta to Delhi for the sole purpose of being present at the final review, which took place in January 1886.

He writes to Lord Lansdowne—

January 17, 1886.—"I am on my way to Delhi to see an army of forty thousand men which has been collected there for what the foreigners call some 'grand manœuvres.' Randolph Churchill has sent us a whole lot of foreign officers with the view of convincing them of our strength. They will undoubtedly be surprised at the fine appearance of our troops and the high level of their efficiency, but for all that I fear they won't return home terror-stricken, in spite of our having another army employed in conquering a kingdom elsewhere."

It was indeed a striking display—no less so because the discharge of cannon which saluted the Viceroy's arrival in the field was reverberated from the sky by

a peal of thunder ; and the troops marched past under a storm of rain.

Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State—

“ Though the glitter of the spectacle was dimmed, the sight was splendid. One forgot the storm and everything else in one’s interest in looking at the men. Indeed from a business point of view I am not sure but what it was better as it was, as it enabled our soldiers to show what pluck and discipline could effect, in spite of adverse circumstances. Though they were almost up to their knees in mud, each battalion marched past like a straight and solid wall. The ground was especially trying to our poor little short-legged Goorkhas, but they ground their teeth and set their faces, and passed the saluting flag in as level a line as any other regiment. . . . Roberts was delighted, and it did my heart good to see forty thousand men advance in line with him at their head. He considers that the lessons we have learned are well worth the money which has been spent, and I really believe it is the case. Indeed I imagine it would be well if the same sort of thing, though on a lesser scale, could be gone through every year. Both men and officers must learn a great deal, and it shows up at once our capable and incapable commanders.

“ The foreign officers were somewhat surprised at the fine physique and efficiency of our native soldiers, but they all remarked on the paucity of British officers with the Indian regiments, which I could not but acknowledge was, as it still is, a weak point in our military organization.”

The number, equipment, and martial appearance of the Indian regiments did indeed produce upon the foreign officers, particularly upon the Russians, something more than surprise at their efficiency. They were evidently not prepared to witness such a manifestation of the confidence placed by the British government in the loyalty and trustworthiness of our native fellow-subjects ; for no other European Power has ventured to arm and discipline a formidable body of Asiatic soldiers drawn from the population under its dominion. It has often been observed that in the Russian army an Asiatic officer rises to higher military grades than in our Indian

service. But, on the other hand, it is seldom considered that this army contains very few Asiatic regiments ; for the Russians recruit with great caution from the indigenous races of Central Asia. Among troops where the European or semi-European element preponderates enormously, the admission to the upper ranks of a few Asiatic officers is unimportant politically. It is true that the standing army of Russia is so large as to render the enlistment of local regiments unnecessary. Yet that the British government should not have hesitated to rely so extensively, for the guardianship of their empire, upon the most warlike races of the country itself, led and commanded by so few British officers, was to our foreign visitors a striking novelty ; and it made upon them no light impression.

CHAPTER XII.

INDIA.

(BURMAH AND TIBET.)

BEFORE the Afghan frontier beyond north-west India could be cleared of complications, others were growing up in the south-east. On both sides of the Indian empire the causes out of which troubles arose were fundamentally similar, although the circumstances were very different. It has always been the policy of the British-Indian government to prevent any other European Power from obtaining a foothold within the Asiatic States situated on the borders of our actual possessions. Just as a fortress or a line of entrenchments requires an open space around or in front of it, so it is manifestly advantageous for the security of a kingdom to be surrounded by a ring of territories with which powerful neighbours must not meddle. Upon this principle we place the adjoining States under our protectorate, whether they desire it or do not ; and thus our political influence radiates out beyond the line of our actual possession, spreading its skirts widely and loosely over the lands adjacent. From the time when the British dominion was first established in India, the prosecution of this policy has been one leading motive of wars, annexations, and alliances.*

* The same policy had been practised by the Romans, and with similar results.

"The frontier (of Asia Minor) was in the first period of the empire formed throughout by the dependent principalities."

"The supreme principle of the Roman power was to acknowledge no frontier-power with equal rights."—Mommson, "The Roman Provinces," vol. i. 324 ; ii. 51.

The kingdom of Burmah, which marched with Lower Bengal on its eastern frontier, had always been reckoned as forming part of the glacis that encircles our Indian lines of defence. During our long war against the French republic and the first empire, the Indian Governor Generals were continually alarmed by secret intelligence of French designs upon Burmah; and even before that period a French traveller had written, prophetically—"Il est certain que les Anglais chercheront à s'emparer de Pegu." * In the course of the nineteenth century the Burmese had already lost territory in two successive wars with the British power. In 1826 Lord Amherst had enforced the cession of a long strip of sea-coast bordering upon the Bay of Bengal; and in 1854 Lord Dalhousie's annexation of Pegu, the maritime province at the mouth of the Irrawadi river, had finally excluded the Burmese kingdom from access to the sea. The wide inland country which still remained under its native ruler now (1885) constituted one of those States flanking India which has been always regarded as part of the defensive zone that we maintain against the encroachment of any foreign power whose hostility might be serious. But the temper of the Burmese government had remained intractably resentful, insomuch that in 1879 it had been found advisable to withdraw from Mandalay the British Resident, whose personal safety was in jeopardy; nor had he since been replaced. From that time onwards British interests had been treated with open contumely; the commercial rights acquired by convention had been disregarded; no adequate redress could be obtained by expostulation for injuries to British subjects; and the whole attitude of the Burmese Court was one of pertinacious unfriendliness. Such was the condition of affairs when, in February 1885, a report was passed up to headquarters from British Burmah that King Theebaw had executed a treaty with the French government, under which special consular and commercial privileges were accorded to

* Sonnerat, "Voyage aux Indes Orientales" (about 1781).

France. The news came at an awkward moment, for England and Russia were just then on the verge of a serious dispute over the Afghan boundary; and it raised a question of extreme gravity. Lord Dufferin's first impressions upon it presaged his ultimate decision. Writing to the Chief Commissioner, a few days after receiving the intelligence, he said—

“ You will feel, as acutely as I do, that this would not be a propitious moment, even if other circumstances rendered such a course desirable, for India to embark in a military adventure up the Irrawadi. It is not advisable for her to make war at the same moment both in the east and in the west. If, however, the French proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in Upper Burmah, I should not hesitate to annex the country; and, as at present advised, I think that this mode of procedure would be preferable to setting up a doubtful prince.”

The government of India lost no time in transmitting to the Secretary of State their views that if the information that had been received were authentic, it would be necessary to interpose authoritatively; yet for some months nothing further was done, notwithstanding manifest signs of activity on the part of French diplomacy in Burmah. But it was soon found that attraction toward France coincided with repulsion toward England; for the Burmese king proceeded to impose an unjust and ruinous fine upon a British company trading in his dominions, and rejected a proposal of the Indian government that the case should be referred to a special British commissioner for arbitration; while precisely at the same time the prospectus of a French bank to be located at Mandalay was circulated in Paris. There could no longer be any reasonable doubt that King Theebaw's object in making the treaty with France was to strengthen his power of resistance to British remonstrances and demands. On the other hand, by the establishment, under treaty, of important commercial and financial relations with Burmah, France would undoubtedly

acquire an advantageous position in the upper valley of the Irrawadi, which might supplant British influence, and could be turned to other accounts on any future occasion.

In these circumstances the government of India, with the concurrence of the British government, despatched an ultimatum to the Burmese king. He was required to receive at Mandalay a British envoy, in concert with whom the outstanding disputes and grievances should be adjusted, to admit a permanent Resident at his Court, to agree generally that in future he would defer to the advice of the British government in regard to his foreign relations, and, finally, to send an immediate answer to these demands. The ultimatum was backed up by the assemblage at Rangoon of nearly 10,000 troops.

Lord Dufferin wrote—

October 19, 1885.—"This attack upon the Burmah Trade Corporation seems to have originated in a desire of Theebaw's Minister, who is a savage brute, originally belonging to Theebaw's father's bodyguard, to obtain money for his master, the ladies of the harem, and himself, and it looks as though in their folly and ignorance the Burmese were determined to rush upon our bayonets. I have instructed our military authorities to get under way an expedition of 10,000 men; for I am quite certain that nothing short of the presence of our troops in Mandalay itself will convince either the king or his advisers of the true nature of their position, and of the necessity of conforming themselves to its requirements. As to the relative advantages of placing a protected prince upon the throne, or of annexation pure and simple, I have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the better course. It is quite enough to be worried by a buffer policy on the west without re-duplicating it on the east. Moreover, elasticity and a certain power of intermediate resistance are the essential qualities which constitute a 'buffer,' and to a certain though limited extent they may be said to exist in Afghanistan, but Burmah is so soft and pulpy a substance that she could never be put to such a use."

The Burmese government not only refused to receive

a British mission, but also issued a proclamation in a tone of undisguised hostility ; whereupon, in November 1885, the force assembled under General Prendergast at Rangoon was ordered to march upon Mandalay. The expedition had been organized by Lord Dufferin's government upon a scale that made opposition useless, the military operations and political procedure had been carefully laid down beforehand ; with the result that Mandalay was occupied within ten days ; the king surrendered himself a prisoner, and the immediate objects of the campaign were attained with little loss on either side.

Lord Dufferin was now confronted by the problem which inevitably follows upon the armed occupation of an Oriental kingdom and the dethronement of its ruler. Three courses were open to the British government. The first was to replace King Theebaw by another ruler, leaving him complete internal independence, but placing his foreign relations strictly under British control. Under this system the protected territory is merely constituted a barricade against all external influence or aggression—the right of exclusion implying, as in Afghanistan, the duty of defence. Or, secondly, to reduce Upper Burmah to the qualified independence of an Indian State, attaching to the ruler a British Resident, who should exercise at need authoritative control over the administration. The third alternative was annexation of the whole conquered territories to the British dominion.

Lord Dufferin decided that these grave issues could only be determined by personal inquiry into the condition of the country, and by consultation with the civil and military officers who were now in provisional occupation of the Burmese territory ; and he proceeded to Mandalay at the beginning of February 1886, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. He there assured himself that no member of the late ruling family could be placed on the vacant throne, who would be capable of restoring and maintaining a firm and

orderly administration without continuous support and incessant interference on our part, and that such artificial expedients would be predestined, as in Egypt, to confusion and failure. The objections against the second course would, he found, be similar and no less serious. It would be necessary to place all effective administration in the hands of the Resident, supported by British troops; and the nominal ruler would have retained neither power nor popularity. To set up a double government of this sort in the midst of agitation and disorder, over a country beyond our frontier, which was plagued by endemic brigandage and intractable border tribes, would be to incur all the risks, liabilities, and embarrassments of unfettered rulership without any of its compensating advantages. On the whole, after a comprehensive survey of the situation, Lord Dufferin became convinced "that annexation pure and simple, and the direct administration of the province by British officers, offer the best prospect of securing the peace and prosperity of Upper Burmah and our own imperial and commercial interests." When this decision, which was transmitted by telegram to the India Office, received the assent of Her Majesty's government, Lord Dufferin proceeded to draw up a scheme, complete in all executive, financial, and political details, with special arrangements in the outlying border tracts, for the reorganization of the entire government of the new dominion. Finally, the British Chief Commissioner was instructed to announce to the Burmese population, that the Queen-Empress was now their sovereign, and that their welfare had become a matter of solicitude to a strong and powerful government, who would respect their customs, rights, privileges, and religious institutions, and would effectually provide for the protection of life and property.

Of the impression made upon Lord Dufferin by the country and people of Burmah we have some account in the subjoined letter from him to Lady Dartrey—

March 14, 1886.—"I have just returned from Burmah.

The expedition was a most interesting and successful one. Burmah is a delightful country and the Burmese people are extremely engaging, full of fun, jollity, and light-heartedness, and unlike our sombre Hindus. The women hold sway from one end of the land to the other, make their own marriages and their own divorces, retain their property, preside in the shops, and generally assert themselves in so cheerful and good-humoured a manner that no Burman need feel humiliated. Their hair is beautifully brushed, shines like ebony, and is dressed with flowers and a top-knot. Their dress consists of a single narrow sheet of brilliant flowered silk wrapped round their bodies as closely as it will stick. It only just meets in front, and is retained in its place by a rich sash. This single garment makes up in length for the scantiness of its breadth, and covers their feet with a fringe, giving them the look of multi-coloured crackers at a ball supper. The men also bedizen themselves in bright-coloured silks, with a yellow, pink, or green handkerchief around their heads. They have the further curious custom of tattooing their bodies from the waist to the knees, which gives them the appearance of being clad in breeches.

"The Burmese pagodas and monasteries are wonderful nightmare kind of structures, all gold and carving, bristling with beautiful golden demons, fairies, and dragons in high relief, and topped in every direction with graceful pinnacles formed of Chinese-like pavilions super-imposed on one another, and contracting as they rise until they end in a single golden spire. The dress of the *poongyis*, or priests, deserves a word of commendation. Their heads are shaven, and they are clad in soft yellow robes which fall round them in classic folds, and the dusky orange of their garments is in perfect harmony with their dark skins. They are full of natural grace, and whether they move or sit, are an object of delight to the beholder, at least if he is an artist. The great monasteries peopled with enormous statues of silent Buddhas, all sitting cross-legged with their eyes on the ground in calm contemplation, are very solemn and religious, while you could not distinguish the shrines, with their golden images, flowers, candles, and Madonnas and Child from those of a Catholic church.

"We had a pleasant sail up to Mandalay in a two-storied steamer of the American type. Mandalay far exceeded my expectations. Though composed of nothing but houses

made of matting and grass, it is rendered respectable and even imposing by its four square walls, and the pagoda-like turrets and towers by which the level line of their battlements is relieved. Outside there is a broad moat some fifty or sixty yards wide, more like a river than a moat. Indeed it is filled by running water. Altogether, the place a little reminded me of Moscow. Theebaw's palace was also very interesting, with its golden pillars and dusky courts, and fretted golden roofs and cornices. The interior chambers are much like what the palaces of the old Argive kings or of Ulysses must have been, the roofs supported by a multiplicity of columns, and everything glistening with gold. Unlike those of the Greeks, however, Theebaw's walls are of golden lattice-work, so that you can see through into the courts beyond.

"Supaya Lat, Theebaw's wife, must have been an extraordinary woman. To use the expressive phrase of a native lady, 'when she lifted up her little finger the whole city trembled.' Her cruelty exceeded all belief. Some Catholic sisters, whom she petted for her own purposes, and whom she induced to order for her costly jewels from Paris, which have never been paid for, told my wife that when they were visiting the Queen they often heard in the adjoining chamber the screams of the unfortunate women who were being beaten, and which invariably elicited from Supaya Lat and her attendants equally resonant shrieks of laughter. . . . At Rangoon I received a visit from one of the dowager Queens and her daughter, a sister of Theebaw's. For seven years these two unfortunate women have been kept manacled in a single room, without attendants or any alleviation, until our soldiers released them. When I saw them, however, though lame in consequence of the injury to their ankles, both these princesses had recovered their health and spirits, and seemed cheerful enough."

The complete pacification of Upper Burmah proved, however, a troublesome business. It may be remarked that in the course of our Indian empire's expansion, the difficulty of settling down annexed territories has usually been found to vary inversely with the difficulty of subduing them by arms, because an easy conquest leaves more to do afterwards than is left by hard fighting.

When a native army has been fairly beaten in the field, the warlike spirit of the population is quelled, and in a manner satisfied. When the soldiers are disbanded, but not decisively defeated, they scatter over the country and rally the elements of resistance. In 1849 we annexed the Punjab after two campaigns and several fierce battles. In 1856 Oudh was annexed without a shot fired. Thereafter, when the Sepoy mutiny broke out in 1857, the Sikhs rallied to our standard, while Oudh rose against us in almost unanimous revolt.

In a despatch written some months after annexation had been proclaimed, Lord Dufferin described briefly the condition of his new province, and the character of its people—

“ The province of Upper Burmah has an area larger than that of France, and contains a population which has been roughly computed at 4,000,000. A considerable portion of this vast expanse is impenetrable jungle, and even in the most thickly populated districts there are no proper roads or bridges. During the rainy season the difficulties of communication are very much increased by the sudden rise of the rivers and numerous streams which intersect the country in all directions, and often for weeks at a time large tracts remain under water. The population, though it cannot be described as warlike in the ordinary sense of the term, has a traditional and deep-rooted love of desultory fighting, raiding, gang-robbery, and similar kinds of excitement. Villages have long-standing feuds with villages, and many young peasants, otherwise respectable, spend a season or two as dacoits without losing their reputation in the eyes of their fellow-villagers. If there were any under the old *régime* who had scruples about engaging in dacoity pure and simple, they always had plenty of opportunity for leading a very similar mode of life as partisans of one of the numerous pretenders to the throne, one or more of whom were generally in open revolt against the *de facto* sovereign. As the monarchy was hereditary only in the sense of being confined to the members of a particular family—the descendants of the famous Alompra—each scion of the Royal line considered himself justified in raising the banner of insurrection if he imagined that he had a fair chance of success, and he could generally plead in justification of

his conduct that his successful rival on the throne had endeavoured to put him and all his near male relations to death. These various elements of anarchy no king of Burmah was ever able to suppress."

The country, in fact, had always been infested with robber-bands, which had multiplied during the late king's reign of misrule. The dispersion of his army, and the abrupt overturn of his government, reinforced these bands and supplied them with an opportunity for depredations under the pretext of partisan warfare against the foreign invader. Their attacks were directed not so much against the military outposts or police stations as against the villages, which they plundered audaciously. It was impossible, at first, to organize an effective police or to enlist local regiments from among the population ; for the Burmese, unlike the people of India, have an ingrained repugnance to disciplined service of any kind. The whole work of suppressing disturbances, therefore, had to be done by soldiers and police recruited in India, with the English troops to support them. In this state of things marauding and rebellious outbreaks could not be at once put down, and the Viceroy found himself exposed to disparaging criticism, in England and elsewhere, on the supposition that his measures had been wanting in promptitude and energy ; while it was even alleged that in order to keep down expenditure he had miscalculated the supply of men and money that would be indispensable for the enforcement of order. This latter charge Lord Dufferin entirely disproved by facts and figures. In regard to the prolongation of sporadic turbulence he replied by showing that the quieting of the country could be no short or easy operation.

" Suddenly descending as we did into an arena which for years, nay for centuries, had been the theatre of domestic anarchy and the playground of hereditary bandits, rebels, pretenders, and gang-robbers, can we expect its inhabitants in a few months, under the auspices of a strange and alien government, to subside into a condition of Ar-

cadian tranquillity ? Lord Dalhousie was an energetic and vigorous ruler, and has never been accused of laxity or indecision ; and in conquering and pacifying Pegu he was served by men of acknowledged ability, notably by Sir Arthur Phayre. Had the mere application of brute force in the shape of troops, money, and the multiplication of officials, been all that was necessary to secure tranquillity, he would certainly have had the country quiet in a month or two. But as a matter of fact, it took him more than three years to complete the task. Though Rangoon was taken in April 1852, and Pegu annexed in December, even the town continued to be disturbed and threatened for the next year and a half. During the interval between April 1852 and the end of 1855, rebel chiefs continued to defy our authority, to attack our posts, to burn and ravage defenceless villages, and to surprise, and occasionally murder, our civil and military officers ; nor did the province really begin to quiet down until 1856 ; yet, in spite of Upper Burmah, exclusive of the Shan States, being three times as big as Pegu, we have already got eleven districts pretty well in hand, have collected for the first year of our occupation more than half the revenue, and are every day extending wider and wider the area of our jurisdiction."

The long and elaborate Minute from which this extract has been taken attests the solicitous industry with which Lord Dufferin applied himself personally to the organization of every administrative department, superintending and directing the civil and military staff, and adjusting his measures to circumstances of singular difficulty.

In July he wrote to Lord Roberts—

" I am very anxious that it should remain on record that from first to last we have not only not refused any demand which our officers in Burmah have addressed to us, but that we have actually forced upon them more extensive means for the subjugation of the country, in the shape of troops, etc., than they themselves demanded."

To Sir W. Gregory—

July 26, 1886.—" You ask me if I have less cause for

anxiety than when we met. It seems to me that India is a kettle out of which the bottom is perpetually tumbling. You no sooner patch it up in one direction than the mess breaks out in another. Burmah is giving us a deal of trouble, and people in England are naturally getting impatient at the delay in quieting the country, little knowing what a job it is."

He wrote to Lord Goschen (August 1886)—

"It is not, however, so much a question of men or money—it is time and the resources of civilization upon which we must place our chief reliance. Take the case of Ireland. In spite of an enormous army and a most efficient and numerous constabulary, it has been found impossible to suppress either the raids of moonlighters or the dynamite explosions; and if such a state of things is found so arduous to cope with in Ireland, where there are roads, railways, telegraphs, and a highly organized executive machinery, how much more difficult must it be to deal with a population of inveterate gang-robbers who have been reinforced by a disbanded army and the adherents of numerous pretenders, who inhabit a country covered with jungles and swamps, destitute not only of roads, but even of paths and of the simplest means of communication, and whom we are forced to control through the agency of a foreign police who neither speak their language nor are acquainted with their habits and devices."

In these circumstances, on the sudden death of Sir Herbert Macpherson, who was commanding the forces in Burmah, the Viceroy telegraphed to Lord Roberts, asking him to undertake the supreme direction of all military affairs in that country "until a decisive impression has been made upon the existing elements of disturbance;" and Lord Roberts immediately set off to assume charge.

"It is a matter of great importance" (Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State) "that there should be no delay in setting in motion the arrangements for the winter operations which for some time past have been under such careful preparation, and Roberts has them all at his fingers'

ends. Moreover, it is an advantage that at this particular juncture there should be at the head of our military affairs in Burmah a man who is personally on good terms with the head of the civil administration and the Brigadiers. A newcomer might act like a bull in a china shop, whereas Roberts will at once put all the wheels in motion without friction, and in the most intelligent and effective manner. Probably in two months he might be withdrawn ; and in the mean time we should be able with due deliberation to prepare for the relegation of his command to a fitting successor."

A redistribution of the outposts, with some concentration of the troops, was effected ; reinforcements were despatched ; and the rapid organization of a strong and numerous military police, for the relief of the regular army locked up in Burmah, was at once taken in hand. By the end of 1886, mainly through the indefatigable exertions of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, the government of India were able to report to the Secretary of State that

"the area within which we intended in the first instance to confine our action has been greatly extended, and we may say we have now more or less completely under our control the whole of that large portion of the country which is inhabited by a homogeneous Burmese population, and which we intend to keep under our direct administration, assimilating it to our Lower Provinces as rapidly as is consistent with local peculiarities and requirements."

As time went on, the civil offices were formed and distributed to executive districts and subdivisions, the police were enrolled and stationed ; the revenue assessments of the country were revised and regulated systematically, and a code of laws promulgated. An amnesty, on submission, was proclaimed for past offences, and the gradual disarmament of the country was carried out, while the development of communications all over the country was vigorously pushed forward.

"Within two years a territory larger than France, which

had been for generations a prey to lawlessness and intestine strife, has been reduced to peace and order, and furnished with a strong and efficient government, complete in all departments, which minister to the security, the prosperity, and the comfort of the people. In no previous epoch of our government in India has it been found possible to achieve such results in such a brief period of time."

The Shan States comprise an elevated plateau stretching eastward from upper Burmah proper to the valley of the Cambodia River, and intersected by numerous ranges of hills. The inhabitants differ in origin, language, customs, and institutions from the Burmans, and live under the patriarchal rule of hereditary chiefs, who at the time of the annexation had been long tributary to the Alompra dynasty of Ava. All these petty chiefships were placed under a Superintendent, whose authority was backed by the despatch of armed forces to move through the country; and the tribal chiefs were charged with the duty of maintaining order after their own fashion, on the condition of acknowledging British supremacy, and of obedience to rules prescribed for their general control and guidance. No serious trouble followed the introduction of these arrangements into the Shan States, and on their northern and western frontiers the wilder tribes have submitted by degrees to the effective operation of a similar system.

But the occupation of upper Burmah had necessarily brought the Indian government into closer contiguity with the great sovereignty that has dominated from time immemorial in Eastern Asia. The kingdom of Mandalay was one of the blocks or barricades interposed, as are Nepal and Tibet, between the two empires of India and China; and from these three States the Chinese emperor had been accustomed to claim certain formal acknowledgments of traditional allegiance, represented, in the case of the Burmese State, by the deputation of decennial missions to Peking. The Nepalese relations with China have dwindled down to a ceremonious fiction; while in Tibet the suzerainty takes the form of

a protectorate, that can be set up whenever it is useful as a diplomatic barrier. It was to be expected that our operations in Burmah should have been observed with active concern by the Chinese foreign office, from whom the British government had just then extracted a reluctant consent to the deputation of a commercial mission to Lhasa. This project had been imposed upon Lord Dufferin by instructions from England, where it was believed that a profitable trade might be opened with Tibet. But the preparations for this mission had unluckily been made on a scale that alarmed the Tibetan authorities, who were quite ready to fall back upon China for aid in locking the door against foreigners, but who have invariably treated the imperial passports or permission to open it with complete disregard. When, therefore, it appeared that the Tibetans intended to oppose forcibly the crossing of their frontier by the Indian mission, the Chinese government had to choose between an attempt, which was sure to fail, to persuade or coerce Tibet into admitting a mission that had obtained their formal sanction, or the undignified alternative of acknowledging that a refractory province was too strong for them. But so soon as it appeared certain that the Tibetans intended to offer violent resistance to the British mission, Lord Dufferin, for his own part, became very doubtful about the wisdom of proceeding with it. To push forward, on such terms, into the country, seemed to him no very promising method of securing commercial interests, and he foresaw the complications inseparable from forcible entry. Hostilities might follow; but the Duke of Wellington had said long ago that for military expeditions in Asia success is often no less embarrassing than a reverse. A check or failure makes retreat impossible, and when you have succeeded it becomes equally difficult to draw the line where the advance can stop, or to retire without the risk of forfeiting all that has been gained by the enterprise. Moreover, Afghan affairs were as yet by no means settled, while a large army of occupation was still locked up in

Burmah. It became expedient to aid the Chinese government in discovering some issue out of their dilemma ; and this was provided by a diplomatic intimation that the Lhasa mission would not be pressed if amicable concessions with regard to Chinese reclamations in Burmah could be settled at Peking. The solution was readily entertained ; and on this basis a convention was signed in 1886 with China, which removed all obstacles to the complete incorporation of the new province under the government of India.

But what satisfied China did not pacify Tibet ; and the whole story may be told here, although its end belongs to the last years of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty. Recent events have revived the troublesome question of our relations with Tibet. Between the situations in 1886 and in 1903-4 there is, however, the very material difference that, at the former period, this question concerned only England and China, for of interference in Tibet by any other European power there could at that time be no apprehension. An armed expedition, which was hardly worth the trouble in 1886, when the sole object would have been to establish trading routes, became at the later date politically unavoidable. The route out of India into Tibetan territory runs through Sikkim, a little independent state under British protection ; and on this part of the road at a point called Lingtu, a fort had been constructed by the Tibetans in July 1886, to prevent the mission from reaching the Tibetan frontier. After the mission had been withdrawn, the garrison of the fort remained and began to strengthen it, although the position was outside their own border. When representations made to the frontier officials and to the Chinese government had proved equally ineffectual, the government of India had to decide between acquiescing in a permanent violation of Sikkim territory or resorting to strong measures for protecting it. Much protracted and fruitless remonstrance with China followed, and the subjoined extract from a letter written by Count Bela Szechenyi to Lord Dufferin in November 1887 is in-

structive. According to this experienced informant, the Tibetans, secretly aided and abetted by the Chinese government, were in no mood for yielding to any argument but force.

"For my part I take great interest in the opening of Tibet, as I travelled in some parts of it in the years 1870-80, trying to push forward on three different ways to Lhasa, but was always stopped by armed Lamas and the Tibetan militia in doing so. Since that time I have kept up my correspondence in those remote parts, and news is mostly given to me by missionaries, so that I am '*toujours au courant des faits*' concerning Tibet and China. . . .

"Macaulay * during his stay at Peking received from the Tsungli Yamen his passport for Tibet with the very best recommendation (just as I had), and was in the idea that the convention he carried through between his and the Chinese government concerning the opening of English and Indian trade to Tibet would find its inauguration by his voyage to Lhasa *via* Darjeeling. The Chinese government only asked for a delay of three months in order to win public opinion in Tibet in favour of his expedition.

"During these three months troops were levied in Tibet, and guns as well as over a hundred large boxes filled with European gunpowder were sent from China, and when in the month of May Macaulay arrived with his two hundred Sepoys on its frontiers, he found all the passes guarded by Lamas and Tibetan soldiers. No possibility of passing except by declaring war, which could not be the object of your government, having just at that time among other difficulties the Burmese question on its shoulders. And as you wanted for that reason peace with China, so I suppose (I may be wrong *car je ne vois pas le dessous des cartes*) Tibet was given up for the moment, and China got the declaration that you will not enter by force into Tibet if, on the other hand, China gives up its claims on Burmah.

"China has, however, not been faithful in her engagements, for it is known that the Viceroy of Yunnan, 'Tsen kong pao,' sent soldiers of the regular troops, disguised under the black flag, to fight the English in Burmah. As

* Mr. Macaulay, who was to be in charge of the mission to Lhasa, had been sent to Peking for the purpose of arranging matters with the Chinese government.

they had better arms it was they who killed your officers out of ambuscades.

"After Macaulay had retired with his Sepoys from the Tibetan frontier, the Lamas, soldiers, and the population massed on the passes, shouted 'Victory,' living in the idea that they had frightened the government of the Empress of India. Their boldness and audacity had no limits. They took your *protégé* the King of Sikkim, prisoner. In vain he cried for your help; he was told that this question would be settled by diplomacy. The north of Sikkim lying under your protection was overrun by the Tibetans, who destroyed your built high-road, and even constructed a fortress in its neighbourhood.

"Are these questions also to be treated by diplomacy? I think that your 'prestige' will suffer considerably by it, not only in Tibet, but also in India, for such affronts done to the mightiest Power demand an exemplary satisfaction."

In acknowledging this letter Lord Dufferin observed—

"In one respect, however, you have misconceived the situation. The Tibetans did not take the King of Sikkim prisoner, nor has he appealed to us for help. The fact is that, though his ministers are friendly to us, he himself is a Tibetan at heart, having married a pure Tibetan wife to whom he is very much attached; and, against both our remonstrances and the remonstrances of his people and ministers, he has been residing for the last two years within Tibetan territory on the plea that it suits his health better. Some time ago we expostulated with him on his removing outside of his own dominions, and when he paid no attention to us we stopped his subsidy. If he continues obdurate we shall probably make other arrangements."

At last in the spring of 1888 the government of India notified to the Tibetan officer in Lingtu that unless the place was evacuated he would be expelled by force of arms. The letter was returned unopened with a verbal message that the Tibetan government allowed no communication with foreigners. As two more warnings failed to obtain the slightest acknowledgment the British troops captured the fort; a large force that attacked them later was easily dispersed; and the Tibetans

were at last, in September 1888, driven out of Sikkim into their own country. Three months after the long altercation had in this manner been determined, a Chinese official, deputed from Peking to represent imperial mediation, announced his appearance upon the frontier.

In one of the numerous letters that Lord Dufferin wrote from Burmah to his daughter (now Lady Helen Munro Ferguson) he said—

“We have seen the most beautiful temple that is to be found in all India, really something quite superb, and as full of mystery as of beauty, with enormous gloomy halls and long corridors with golden and brazen animals, fiends, and gods standing sentinel between the pillars—leading to darkened shrines and deep recesses where the god and goddess sat enthroned amidst a blaze of tapers. Then there were huge towers crowded with grotesque figures in high relief, priests moving about in picturesque garments, and, to give vitality to the whole scene, troops of dancing-girls, each laden with diamonds and jewels, and all dedicated to the service of the temple. I had to walk about all the time not merely with garlands round my neck, but with an enormous heavy and brocaded shawl flung over my shoulders.”

After the expedition to Mandalay in February 1886, Lord and Lady Dufferin crossed the Bay of Bengal from Rangoon to visit Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras. And on his departure for Calcutta he wrote to Sir James Stephen—

March 6, 1886.—“I have left two friends of yours well and flourishing at Madras. I was determined to see the Grant Duffs before they descended from their throne, and we spent three very pleasant days with them. Madras is a less dead-alive place than I had expected, and the climate was perfect; but I have observed in India that people take it as a personal insult if you praise their climate, I suppose because you thereby minimize their hot-weather sufferings.”

Meanwhile the rise and fall of ministries in fierce parliamentary conflict were absorbing all attention in

England. In May 1886 Lady Gregory writes to Lord Dufferin—

“ At this moment no one will think or speak of any other subject but Ireland. . . . You can hardly imagine the bitterness of feeling and of speech that prevail. If there is any act of absolutism or illegality that your government wishes to commit, now is your time, for India is forgotten for the moment.”

In January the Conservative ministry had resigned ; Mr. Gladstone had resumed office, and in April he had introduced two Bills, the first to establish Home Rule in Ireland ; the second for enabling the State to purchase from Irish landlords their property, which was to be conveyed under certain conditions of payment to the tenants. Two months later, when the Home Rule Bill had been negatived on its second reading, Mr. Gladstone was again replaced in the Premiership by Lord Salisbury, whose government remained in power for the six following years. It will easily be understood that Lord Dufferin's proconsular anxieties for the security of the frontiers and for peace in a remote province of the empire, had not diverted his mind from these political commotions at its centre. In a letter of April 1886 he said—

“ The news of the present crisis in England comes to us here like the sound of raging billows in a far-off sea. As for myself, I am so tremendously busy from morning till night that I have not time even to think of what is in store for us in Ireland, though when I do consider the matter, it looks very much as though the few thousands I have invested in Canada is all that I am likely to call mine in a very few years.”

Yet for Lord Dufferin it was not possible to survey from the shore, with placid satisfaction, the toil of others against the wind and the waves. From his retreat on the distant Himalayas he watched the surging strife of parties over questions in which his interests,

personal and patriotic, had always been deeply concerned. When the Home Rule Bill had been defeated, he wrote to Sir James Stephen—

July 28, 1886.—"The great cause in which you were so interested when you wrote has now been decided in a more satisfactory manner than even you dared to hope, and the English people at last have shown some sparks of common sense and manhood. It is needless to say how I personally rejoice in the result, for, had it gone the other way, I and every Irishman in my position would have been completely ruined, though that would have been an insignificant result in comparison with the ruin of the country itself, and for that matter of England too. The more one thinks the thing over, the more astounded one is at the madness of the idea, but it is one which I know has long been fermenting in Mr. Gladstone's mind. I remember in 1870 I went to see him, and met Bessborough leaving his house. Bessborough and I were great friends, and as I at that time had charge of the Irish business in the House of Lords, we used to confabulate a good deal together. Shaking hands with him, he told me that Mr. Gladstone had been walking up and down the room, half talking to him and half to himself of the Irish question, 'and,' said Bessborough, 'I do believe he is capable of repealing the Union.' The whole business has distressed me very much, for all my life long I have received great kindness at Mr. Gladstone's hands, though I have hardly ever conversed with him that I have not felt my face burn with irritation when I left his presence, but then Ireland and land were generally the subjects of our colloquy. He has conferred numerous honours and appointments upon me, and has always been very indulgent to my shortcomings, and I would have given a great deal that he had not run this dreadful muck. Had I been in England, my allegiance to him as an official subordinate would have ceased, I am afraid, when he brought in his Land Bill of 1880. This drove the Duke of Argyll out of his government, and would have driven me, too, for a more unjust measure was never passed. I was in Russia at the time, and one day I received a letter from Argyll, written in the greatest spirits, announcing that after listening to all that his radical colleagues had been urging for weeks in favour of the three F's, Mr. Gladstone had suddenly come down

to Downing Street, and had denounced them in the most forcible and conclusive manner. Yet a month or two later the Bill was introduced into Parliament."

Nevertheless in regard to the Bill for Sale and Purchase of Irish Land, Lord Dufferin's attitude was generally favourable. A letter in the *Times* of March 19, 1886, quoted certain evidence given by him before the Bessborough Commission in 1880, as showing "where Mr. Gladstone's present Irish Land scheme had its birth;" and he himself was "rather pleased that it should have become known that I was the originator." "In 1870," he said, "I earnestly advocated a plan for the permanent settlement of the Irish Land question on the lines now embodied in Mr. Gladstone's Bill;" and a letter to Sir William Gregory, dated July 1886, refers to the same subject—

"I entirely agree with you in believing that if once we could get the people of Ireland satisfied in regard to the land question, their desire for an independent government would entirely disappear, except, as you say, from a small section of the urban population. Repeal has always really been a dead horse until it was married to the land. But the question is, how is the land difficulty to be settled without adding to the enormous losses which the wretched landlords have already sustained? Public opinion in England evidently revolts at the notion of enabling tenants to buy with borrowed public money. A year before the Bill of 1880 was passed I breakfasted one day with Dilke and Chamberlain, and did my best to persuade them to get the matter settled in that sense rather than by the violent and unjust legislation which they were then contemplating, and which was embodied in the Act of 1880; but though they admitted that I had made a considerable impression upon their minds, their anti-landlord predilections were too much for me. I then submitted my scheme to the Commission which sat in Dublin. It was upon a smaller scale than that which Mr. Gladstone subsequently proposed. It merely created the majority of the tenants proprietors, and left the landlords still resident, and in the enjoyment of a proportion of their existing properties."

Sir William Gregory's reply contains two passages of some interest—

September 11, 1886.—"I had a most remarkable conversation with Gladstone at a party at Lady Marian Alford's in November 1883. He began by expressing the opinion he had of Parnell; he said he was the most formidable man to encounter in the House of Commons; he referred to his intimate knowledge of procedure, of his cold *steel-like* oratory, and said—'I think him the most powerful leader the Irish have ever had.' 'What! greater than O'Connell?' I replied.—'Well, perhaps not greater than O'Connell, but those who live to the beginning of the next century will say a more successful one.' And he laid much stress on the word 'successful.' I was so struck with this remark that when I returned home I wrote down the conversation word for word and have preserved it.

"I had a long talk with C. Villiers on Saturday evening at the Athenæum. He spoke in the highest terms of Randolph Churchill. He thinks him one of the most remarkable men he has known, not merely on account of his debating power, but from the mastery he has obtained over every subject which comes under discussion, and from his strength of will, which has from sheer force of character swept away every obstacle, triumphed over innumerable jealousies and dislikes of his colleagues and of the Court, and has made him for the present the most powerful man in the House of Commons, and with widespread influence out-of-doors. He thinks, however, that his health will give way."

The presentiment of these last words was unfortunately verified. In a letter written after Lord Randolph Churchill's death, Lord Dufferin alludes to their meeting in Calcutta during his Viceroyalty, and says—

"He had not gone very deep into the examination of Indian affairs, so that I had no opportunity of ascertaining what impression they had made upon his mind. On his return home he became Secretary of State, and I found him the most considerate and the most charming of men to work with—very sympathetic and appreciative. What

struck me most about him, both as Secretary of State and when he was in India, was, to use a horrid word, 'the receptivity' of his mind. The initial attitude of most people to new ideas and suggestions is instinctively hostile, but with him it was certainly the reverse."

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIA.

(INTERNAL POLITICS.)

THE Viceroy left Simla at the end of October (1886), and at Lahore he met Sir West Ridgeway, who, after settling with the Russians almost all the boundary line of north-western Afghanistan,* had returned to India by Kabul, where the Amir had given the Mission a very friendly reception. Lord Dufferin warmly acknowledged, in a public speech, the remarkable ability with which Sir West Ridgeway and his staff had managed a difficult and delicate negotiation, and the signal services they had accomplished in bringing the demarcation, so far, to a successful conclusion.

“Last, not least, however, I would desire to congratulate them on the auspicious circumstances under which they visited Kabul, as well as on the rapidity of their march from the capital of Afghanistan to the British frontier. That an English mission so constituted should be received as honoured guests by the Amir, and with the most hearty and friendly welcome at the hands of his subjects along their entire route, is in itself a remarkable and significant circumstance which cannot fail to have a most beneficial effect upon the future relations between the governments of India and Afghanistan.”

At a Convocation of the Punjab University, when

* One important point was reserved for arrangement through the Foreign Office at home. See p. 384.

Lord Dufferin received the honorary degree of D.C.L., he touched in his speech upon the question of higher education in India. In this department, as in so many others, the British dominion has brought about a conflict of ideas and traditions, between modern and mediæval systems. Poetry and philosophy are common ground ; but the Hindus have no histories, sacred or profane ; their physical science is rudimentary, and the superior intellects have been largely absorbed in abstruse speculation. The new spirit of European teaching is methodical, experimental, utilitarian ; it may be said that the two systems are at variance as to the objects of knowledge. The proper work of national education in India is to bring East and West into some kind of harmony, preserving and promoting the indigenous languages and literature, and encouraging the application of scientific and critical methods to all branches of study.

“ In what manner ” (Lord Dufferin said) “ your labours in the one hemisphere may most effectually supplement and commingle with the achievements of your fellow-workers in the other ; how you may best apply the products of your own past, so rich in everything that can warm the fancy, excite the imagination or exercise the speculative and metaphysical faculty, to the practical requirements of your future and the exigencies of our present hard and exacting age, is one of the principal problems with which you have to deal, and for which I have no doubt you will find a satisfactory solution.”

From the Punjab, which had not been forty years a British province, he passed to a very different atmosphere at Bombay and Poona, to cities with flourishing schools and colleges, where nearly a century of liberal administration and of organized public instruction had trained up a community whose natural intellectual capacity is unsurpassed in India. In his reply to an address from a prominent society of educated men at Poona, Lord Dufferin explained the views and objects with which he had appointed a commission to ascertain how wider employment and promotion might be given to

Indians of proved merit and ability in the upper ranks of the civil service ; and he affirmed, most truly, that " no lessons had been more forcibly taught us by history than that institutions ought to keep pace with the progress of events and of a country's intellectual development."

From Poona the Viceregal party passed on into the northern districts of the Hyderabad State ; a region once famous in the wars of the Moghul empire, and where long after those times Sir Arthur Wellesley won the hard-fought battle of Assaye. They saw the wonderful rock-cut temples of Ellora, stood at the plain slab which marks the grave of the mighty emperor Aurungzeb, visited the prehistoric stronghold of Daulatabad, and thence travelled southward to the Nizam's capital.

From Hyderabad Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Reay—

November 24, 1886.—" We have just arrived at Hyderabad after a most delightful journey. Nothing could have been more successful than our expedition to Poona, and subsequently to Aurungabad, and especially Daulatabad. The latter place is one of the most interesting fortresses I have ever seen, and you should certainly take an opportunity of examining it. It is an isolated conical hill, the sides of which have been scarped right round, so that a besieger would have to pound away at the living rock instead of at a wall in order to effect a breach.* The only approach is through a long winding passage, also cut out of the rock, the inner entrance to which is closed by a large iron trap-door. When beset by their enemies, the garrison piled huge faggots and other combustibles upon the top of this door until it was heated red-hot, so that any human being attempting to enter the passage leading up to it would have been immediately scorched."

The Nizam of Hyderabad represents a line of princes whose alliance with the British government dates from

* The hill is between 400 and 500 feet high ; the upper and lower parts are in their natural state ; but the centre is a scarped and quite perpendicular wall for 150 yards, and at the wall's foot is a deep ditch, cut about 30 feet down into the solid rock.

the eighteenth century. The practical direction of affairs has usually been delegated to a chief minister, and on this system the State has more than once been managed with distinguished ability. But the relations between an autocratic ruler and a powerful subordinate are uneasy in all parts of the world ; nor are instances wanting in the annals of India, where mutual jealousy, intrigue, and encroachments on either side have sometimes led to open conflict and even to dynastic changes. In Hyderabad the British influence has more than once been interposed to reconcile and pacify disputes of the kind ; and on the present occasion Lord Dufferin appeared as arbitrator. Under his advice and injunctions the breach was for a time repaired ; but the minister soon found his position, which had never been firm, so untenable that after a few months he escaped from it by resignation.

The State of Mysore, to which the Viceroy next proceeded, had been very recently restored to the native dynasty after a long interval of administration by British officers ; and the administration, organized and superintended for many years by British agency, was now carried on with exemplary success by a staff of trained native officials. Lord Dufferin was able to declare, with entire truth, at a banquet given to him, that—

“ there is no state within the confines of the Indian Empire which has more fully justified the wise policy of the British government in supplementing its own direct administration of its vast territories by the associated rule of our great feudatory princes. When I think that I myself was admitted to the familiarity of the heroic soldier, of whose early achievements Seringapatam and the surrounding country were the theatre and the witnesses, it is difficult to believe that the changes to which I have referred should have been the fruits of what I may call contemporary history. It has now been my good fortune to have passed through most of the native states of India, and to have come into personal, and I may state intimate, contact with their chiefs, and I have no hesitation in saying that though there may be differences between them, though some states

may be more advanced than others, some rulers less sensitive than others to the weighty responsibilities imposed on them by Providence, on the whole my experiences have been eminently satisfactory and reassuring, and the Queen-Empress and the government of Great Britain have the greatest reason to congratulate themselves on the general enlightenment, the desire to do their duty, and the conscientious application to affairs which is so generally prevalent amongst them."

Beyond Mysore the journey was extended still further southward to Tanjore and Madura. From this point they turned northward again to Pondicherry, where Lord Dufferin exchanged friendly international greetings with the French governor, and underwent an official banquet and ball with his usual geniality. An allusion, in his speech at the banquet, to the early days when Madras surrendered to French troops from Pondicherry, was humorously meant; yet to his hosts it may have suggested no very cheerful comparisons between the past and present positions of France and England in India. The next stage was Madras, whence the party returned by sea to Calcutta.

Upon the completion of this circuitous journey Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross—

January 18, 1887.—"My programme was carried out from day to day during the whole two months with absolute exactitude. We never dreamt of altering it, and my progress from town to town was one continued ovation. Not only was there no unpleasant incident from first to last, but the loyalty of the people was everywhere enthusiastically manifested. At one or two places, that is to say at Ahmedabad and I think at Tanjore, a minority in the Municipal Council wanted to introduce into their addresses one or two sentences in reference to the reform of the Councils and to the political aspirations of Young India, to which their colleagues objected, and when they found themselves in a minority they sent me unofficially a copy of what they had wished to say in a separate paper, but even these people were effusively civil. . . .

"I am glad that you approve of my speech at Poona.

It was made on the spur of the moment, but it has undoubtedly had a good effect. Some of the older Indians, though agreeing in every word I said, seem to consider it unadvisable for the Viceroy to make any reference to public opinion as signified through the newspapers, and maintain that it ought to be loftily ignored. In this view I do not concur. I do not think we can afford to disregard it; for there are some papers, particularly on the Bombay side, that are conducted with moderation, and with a certain amount of political insight; and although it would be absurd to regard the press as in any way representing the various and multitudinous populations of India, it does undoubtedly express the ideas of the educated class. Though this class is at present small and uninfluential, it is both wise and right to count with it, and we must remember that it is above all things a growing power."

By this time the important military and political affairs that had engaged Lord Dufferin's anxious attention during the first two years of his Viceroyalty were so far in course of settlement that he could turn his mind to these questions of internal administration. It has already been mentioned that a Commission had been appointed, and was now actually at work, for the consideration of ways and means of opening the higher grades of the civil service to natives. But to the leading advocates of Indian reforms, whose education had included a study of English constitutional history, this implied no adequate concessions; they were pressing for an introduction of the representative system, and for other changes which would give them a substantial influence over the executive and legislative conduct of the government. One step forward had already been taken in 1886 by the creation of a Legislative Council in the North-West Provinces, on lines similar to those existing in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay. The views and aspirations of the advanced party of reform were embodied in an association, which had conferred upon itself the title of a National Congress, and held a session in Calcutta during the winter of 1886-87. The tone of their proceedings was loyal and friendly to British rule,

though the discussions were tinged with some inevitable crudity and inexperience ; and the effect of some rather extravagant resolutions passed at the meeting was to arouse the instinctive conservatism, the traditional reluctance to disturb a settled order of things, that may be said to predominate among all classes in the general population of India. To the old-fashioned Indian, who still represents an immense majority of the people, with his inveterate disbelief in the stability of all governments and his dread of change, the shifting and redistribution of governing power is a matter of very serious possible consequences. Political agitators are to him not merely fair players in the game of contending parties and principles, they are new men who want to be masters ; their strength, ability, and disinterestedness are not yet clear to him ; they are likely to be affected by prejudices of race and religion ; and on the whole, whatever may be his discontent with the existing *régime*, he does not care to join in experiments upon the constitution of a government that rules with strength and impartiality.

Nevertheless Lord Dufferin felt that the time was passing when the British government could afford to disparage the claims and aspirations of a party that the British system of education had deliberately created. Trained intelligence and high culture in every country are more or less restricted to a minority, but the select few become gradually leaders of the many. No Viceroy ever came to India who had seen so much as Lord Dufferin had seen of political institutions in different forms and stages, from the free self-government of Canada to absolutism in its zenith at St. Petersburg, and Oriental autocracy at Constantinople. No statesman, therefore, knew better than he did that if the English persist in continuing to pile up, after the high Roman fashion, the edifice of a great empire over a miscellaneous population, they cannot go on adding to the superstructure without distributing the pressure of administrative responsibilities. Early in 1886 the Viceroy recorded his views on the subject—

“ Now I think it is desirable that the government should make up its mind as soon as possible in regard to the policy it is determined to pursue, for evidently India is not a country in which the machinery of European democratic agitation can be applied with impunity. My own inclination would be to examine carefully and seriously the demands which are the outcome of these various movements ; to give quickly and with a good grace whatever it may be possible or desirable to accord ; to announce that these concessions must be accepted as a final settlement of the Indian system for the next ten or fifteen years ; and to forbid mass meetings and incendiary speechifying. Putting aside the demands of the extremists . . . the objects even of the more advanced party are neither very dangerous nor very extravagant. . . . But it must always be remembered that though common sense and a certain knowledge of affairs and of the world may limit the programme of the leaders to what they think they have a chance of getting, the ideal in the minds of the major part of their followers is an India in which the British Army shall ward off invasion from without and preserve them from tyranny and usurpation of the native princes within, while they themselves shall have free scope to administer their domestic affairs untrammelled by the interference of white men, except perhaps in the person of a Viceroy and a limited number of high officials.

“ Undoubtedly the most vital and important of the notions started by the reformers is the change they propose in the Legislative Councils. I confess that soon after my arrival in the country it occurred to me that improvement might be possible in this direction, and personally I should feel it both a relief and an assistance if in the settlement of many Indian administrative questions affecting the interests of millions of Her Majesty's subjects, I could rely to a larger extent than at present upon the experience and counsels of Indian coadjutors. Amongst the natives I have met there are a considerable number who are both able and sensible, and upon whose loyal co-operation one could undoubtedly rely. The fact of their supporting the government would popularize many of its acts which now have the appearance of being driven through the legislature by force ; and if they in their turn had a native party behind them, the government of India would cease to stand up, as it does now, an isolated rock in the middle of a tempestu-

ous sea, around whose base the breakers dash themselves simultaneously from all the four quarters of the heavens."

Lord Dufferin then proceeds to enumerate the obvious risks and drawbacks inseparable from the introduction of the representative element into the organic constitution of such a government as that of India, where the mere number of the population * constitutes an enormous preliminary difficulty; and his conclusion is summed up thus—

"In spite of the serious array of arguments which I have adduced against the change, my instincts rather propel me in the opposite direction, at all events so far as to try the experiment of liberalizing, if not the supreme, at least the subordinate Legislative Councils. Now that we have educated these people, their desire to take a larger part in the management of their own domestic affairs seems to be a legitimate and reasonable aspiration, and I think there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without unduly compromising our Imperial supremacy."

It may be convenient to relate here the eventual outcome of these proceedings and deliberations. Two years later, in 1888, the Commission of Inquiry into the question of admitting natives of India more freely to the higher grades of the Civil Service had presented their report, and Lord Dufferin's government laid before the Secretary of State for India some very liberal proposals in that sense. So liberal indeed were they that the scheme was to some extent modified by the Home government. But the main object of Indian reformers was, as has been said, to obtain constitutional concessions; and Lord Dufferin's mind was constantly turning and returning to this subject during his Viceroyalty. After many counsels had been taken the recommendations of his government were transmitted to the Secretary of State in a despatch of November 1888, accompanied

* About three hundred millions.

by a minute in which Lord Dufferin balanced and discussed at great length all the considerations upon which they had been formulated, and recorded his own opinion, matured after four years' experience of Indian affairs. Some extracts from this comprehensive review may be given to show the direction of his policy, and the substantial reforms that he desired to introduce.

“ Having regard to the relation in numbers, in condition, in status, and in qualifications for government of what may be called the Europeanized or educated section of the Indian people, as compared with the masses that constitute the bulk of the nation, I am convinced that we should be falling into a great error if, miscalculating the force and value of the Congress movement and the influence of its supporters and advocates, whether in the press or elsewhere, we were to relax in the slightest degree our grasp of the supreme administration of the country. On the other hand, as long as we hold firmly to this principle, and remain fully alive to our own Imperial responsibilities, I believe that both with safety and advantage we can give full play to the legitimate and praiseworthy ambition of the loyal, patriotic, and educated classes in India, who are desirous of taking a larger share than hitherto in the transaction of the public business of their respective provinces. . . .

“ Fortunately, whilst the government of India has been occupying itself in framing proposals for reconstituting its provincial legislative councils, it has also, at the suggestion and with the approval of the Secretary of State, been perfecting very important arrangements for the still further decentralization of our financial system, and for handing over to the provincial governments a more complete and independent control of the provincial revenues. At the same time certain powers of supplementing and increasing the local funds by provincial taxation is to be attributed to them. Thus the provincial councils will be admitted to a very large and important field of provincial administration, and ample scope and opportunities will be given to its members, both native and English (amongst whom an adequate number of representatives of the British mercantile interests should be certainly included), to display their statesmanship and their ability to provide for the wants and interests of the extensive communities over which their influence and jurisdiction will extend. . . .

"In two respects I should desire procedure in the Governor General's council to be amended. Under the existing law it is only when a new tax is to be imposed that the finance member is required to submit his financial proposals to the legislative council, or that any opportunity is given to the members of that body to make observations in regard to them. When there is no new taxation the finance member merely publishes his budget in the form of a pamphlet. For my own part, I think that a yearly financial discussion in the Viceroy's legislative council would prove a very useful and desirable arrangement, and a very convenient preliminary to the subsequent debate which takes place on Indian finances in the House of Commons later in the year. I do not by this mean that votes should be taken in regard to the various items of the budget, or that the heads of expenditure should be submitted in detail to the examination of the council, but simply that an opportunity should be given for a full, free, and thorough criticism and examination of the financial policy of the government. . . .

"The second change in the procedure of the supreme legislative council which I am inclined to recommend is, that, under proper restrictions to be laid down by the Viceroy, its members should be permitted to ask questions in reference to current matters of domestic, as distinguished from those of Imperial interest, that may have attracted public attention. . . . Under existing circumstances the government of India has no adequate medium through which it can explain its policy, correct a wrong impression, or controvert a false statement, and, though up to the present time the consequences of the evils I have indicated may not have become very serious or widespread, they contain the germs of incalculable danger. Consequently it would prove as great an advantage to the Administration as it would frequently be a satisfaction to the members of the council and the public at large, if reasonable opportunities were afforded of communicating to those interested the exact facts in regard to any questionable matter."

That the policy marked out in this minute by Lord Dufferin was sound and practicable, has since been proved by experience. Not centralization, but decentralization, should, he declared, be the leading principle of all constitutional amendments in India; he

wished to strengthen the provincial legislatures and establish more of them, so that the jurisdiction in diverse provinces should proceed upon an intimate acquaintance with particular needs and a right knowledge of public opinion. The principle of maintaining supreme control which is the central idea embodied in the word empire, he maintained firmly. There must always be some power capable of holding a just and even balance among conflicting races and creeds ; and the problem in India is to superintend, upon this principle, the devolution and distribution of administrative responsibilities. With regard to the question of multiplying opportunities for public debate upon legislative projects, Sir Henry Maine had affirmed twenty years previously that to do so would be an advantage in all the councils of India—

“ So far ” (he said) “ from its being desirable that we should legislate without giving reasons for our legislation and without meeting objections to it, it seems to me that want of power to defend our measures is our great weakness.”

The Press in India, while it is as free as in England, and is often conducted with considerable ability, is inaccurate because it is seldom well informed ; the educated classes supply impatient censure and criticism, the uneducated are exceedingly credulous. In such an atmosphere of misunderstanding and half-knowledge, amid the clamour of many journals and the circulation of rumours, it had long become impossible for an English government to preserve the disdainful taciturnity of an Asiatic sovereign, who answers no questions, vouchsafes no explanations, and makes known his pleasure, like some divinity, only by his action and commandments. Before this time every draft law had been regularly published with a statement of its objects and the reasons for proposing it ; but within the legislative councils the proportion of non-official members had been small, and the right of interpellation, upon matters not actually before them, did not exist. The natural con-

sequence was that intelligent political discussion found its main vent in journalism, and that the functions of an opposition were undertaken by the newspapers. Lord Dufferin desired, as has been seen, to enlarge not only the numbers of these councils, but also their privileges in debate ; and his general policy was actively supported by his successor in the Governor Generalship, the Marquis of Lansdowne. Two years later an Act of the British Parliament brought these important and salutary changes into operation.

The jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated throughout India on February 16, 1887. At a great meeting on the Maidân,* numerous loyal addresses were presented by deputations, to whom the Viceroy replied by a speech, reviewing in broad outline the administrative policy of the British government in India during the past fifty years of the Queen's reign. For the welfare and prosperity of the country, he said, many things had been undertaken, much had been accomplished, but much more remained to be done ; and for the work that lay before them he relied upon the co-operation of the leaders of native society everywhere, the representatives of education and enlightenment, in promoting the highest interests of the Indian people.

“ We are surrounded on all sides by Native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an administration so peculiarly situated as ours, their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and good-will their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs, and glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn amongst them, circumstances permitted me to extend and to place upon a wider and more logical footing the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago by that great statesman, Lord Hali-

* The open plain along the river-side at Calcutta.

fax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils.

"Believe me" (he said in conclusion), "I speak from personal knowledge when I say that, amongst the many preoccupations and anxieties of the Queen-Empress, there is no section of her subjects whose interests she watches with more loving or affectionate solicitude than your own. Moreover, in doing this, she most truly represents, as it is fit and right their sovereign should, the feelings and instincts of the English people. Through the mysterious decrees of Providence, the British nation and its rulers have been called upon to undertake the supreme government of this mighty empire; to vindicate its honour, to defend its territories, and to maintain its authority inviolate; to rule justly and impartially a congeries of communities, many of them widely differing from each other in race, language, religion, social customs, and material interests; to preserve intact and unimpaired the dignity, rights, and privileges of a large number of feudatory princes; to provide for the welfare of a population nearly as numerous as that of Europe, and presenting every type of civilization known to history from the very highest to the very lowest; to safeguard and to develop the enormous moral and material British interests which have become inextricably implicated with those of the natives of the soil; to conduct its administration in a way to win the love, confidence, and sympathy of races as keenly sensitive to injustice and wrong as they are ready to recognize kindness and righteous dealing."

To Lord Northbrook the Viceroy wrote a short time afterwards—

March 11, 1887.—"Our jubilee proceedings went off very well. Two days were set apart as holidays, and in Calcutta the programme was as follows: A salute of a hundred and one guns at daybreak, followed an hour or two later by a parade and march past of all the troops in garrison. Then I drove to the Cathedral, where a special service was held, and in the afternoon there was a great assembly on the Maidân, at which I received the innumerable congratulatory addresses which had poured in from one end of the country to the other, and made a speech in reply.

Immediately after this there was a grand display of fireworks, and on this occasion the natives were shown a pyrotechnic display far superior to any that they had ever seen before. The principal feature was the outline of Her Majesty's head, traced in lines of fire about 18 feet high, which unexpectedly burst upon the vision of the astonished crowd. In the same manner portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales, on an equally gigantic scale, appeared from out a fiery rose-bush. My wife and I were also honoured in the same way, and I thought I never looked so well. We also entertained 30,000 school children, native and European, and the day ended with a general reception at Government House."

It has been thought convenient, in this narrative of Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty, to disregard chronological order for the purpose of continuity, so as to group and connect under one subject all the events and proceedings relating to it. But since the successive steps or stages usually belong to different years, under this system the annual chronicle has been forestalled, and of important matters there is little left to say. Afghan and Burmese questions still engaged the Viceroy's attention in 1887; he pressed forward the frontier railways, the fortification of points on the north-western border of India, and the coast defences. The grand strategical problem—whether an army should advance to meet a hostile invasion of Afghanistan, or should await an enemy by taking up positions on or close to the British frontier—was discussed with the usual eager conflict of military opinions. Three alternative plans were drawn up by a Committee, in which Lord Dufferin discovered at least one common characteristic, "that there is a great deal to be said against adopting any one of them." Nevertheless he examined and commented upon them all in letters to the Secretary of State, though he preferred a short outlook on the future to speculations on ulterior possibilities; "for it is an inveterate habit of my mind" (he wrote about this time) "never to allow any opinion upon any subject to crystallize until it becomes necessary to arrive at a practical decision."

By April 1887 he was again at Simla, after some tiger-shooting in the sub-Himalayan forests ; and the general course of his thoughts and occupations may be illustrated by a few extracts from his letters to friends at home.

To Lord Granville he wrote—

“ I have now been two years and a half in this country, that is to say, one half of my term, and I feel now, and have always felt, like a man engaged in riding a very dangerous steeplechase over a course interspersed with horribly stiff fences and exceedingly wide brooks. So far I have scraped through and over a certain number of them, but I never feel sure that I may not have a cropper at one or other of those that lie before me, and, in any event, one feels that there can be neither rest nor peace nor breathing time until one has got safe past the winning-post at the end of one's five years. As one of Canning's successors, my thoughts naturally turn often to him and the anxious career he had here. Lady Canning's tomb is in the grounds of Barrackpore, a kind of country house about fifteen miles from Calcutta, and scarcely a Sunday passes that I do not read the inscription Canning himself wrote on her monument. Knowing how dearly you loved him, I am sure you will be glad to hear that his memory and his fame are still alive and green in India, and that he is never mentioned, either by Europeans or natives, without respect and reverence.

“ After our Calcutta season was over, I had a week's holiday, the first for two years and a half, which I employed in tiger-shooting in the Terai. It was too delightful, and we killed six tigers within the week.”

Lord Granville replied—

“ As to your steeplechase, you appear to me to be winning hands down. I see no reason why the rest of the course should be more difficult. I wish you all possible success. I suppose there is a chance of my being alive when you come back loaded with laurels.”

To Lord Arthur Russell—

“ Considering the history of property in Ireland and the

degree to which, both under the Encumbered Estates Court and the Land Court, its position has been revalidated by Parliament, it would be simply monstrous to leave it to the mercy of a revolutionary convention of Celts. Within my own immediate neighbourhood thousands of acres have during the last thirty years been acquired by Belfast capitalists, that is to say by men whose industry, prudence, and skill have not only enabled them to acquire a considerable amount of private wealth, but to distribute enormous amounts of capital throughout the population of Ulster. All these purchasers have insisted very properly on being furnished with a Parliamentary title to the estates they bought. It was on the faith of this security that they invested their money. With what decency or show of justice can any British Parliament (though it has, I am sorry to say, already made extensive inroads upon the rights thus conveyed) annul or withdraw its guarantees, and allow those to whom it has pledged its word to be robbed both of their land and of their money.

“ But I do not know why I should bother you with home politics instead of telling you about India, though were I to open this chapter, it is difficult to say where I should end. It is a most wonderful and delightful place, and the climate, as distributed to us, quite enchanting and extremely healthy. In fact, both my wife and I have been better since we came here than at any time of our lives, as indeed have my children ; but the work and responsibilities are appalling. Happily when once I have left my desk I do not think of them, otherwise any one in my situation would go distracted. Nor do they trouble me at night, which is the critical period to many men. So far, matters have gone pretty well with us, though the task of administration is becoming every year more difficult and complicated, first on account of the pressure of a foreign government from outside, and secondly from the pressure amongst us of a very able, intelligent, and respectable educated class of natives, who naturally enough consider that they are entitled to a larger share in the administration of their own affairs.

“ Moreover, in one part or another of so vast an area unpleasant incidents are always taking place, so that you have no sooner patched up a hole in one part of the kettle than another shows itself on the opposite side.

“ Burmah, I am happy to say, is really quieting down,

so that that business will be fairly well settled within the two years I originally named, though I am afraid that during the course of the hot weather the criminal classes of the country will take advantage of our enforced inactivity to recommence dacoity and the plundering of each other's villages, but by the end of the next cold weather, when we shall be able again to come down on the disturbers of the public peace with renewed force and vigour, our task of pacification ought to be pretty well complete. . . .

"I have just had a week's holiday, the first in two years and a half, and have been tiger-shooting in the Nepal Terai. We saw ten and got six, which was very good, and I had the pleasure of knocking over the biggest beast of the lot with a bullet from an Express rifle, though I will not swear I was the first to draw blood, for he was prancing about in the grass for two or three minutes before he came out into the open. . . .

"It may perhaps interest you to know that I console my scanty leisure by learning Persian, which I can now talk fairly well, though I heartily regret having ever begun it. I imagined that all the magnates of India principally spoke Persian, whereas it is only the Mahomedans who use it, and they not very extensively, so that my only reward is the reading of some rather pretty poetry, and listening to the 'Arabian Nights,' a story from which is told to me every day by a learned policeman who accompanies me in the course of my daily constitutional."

To Lady Russell—

"And now what am I to tell you? Politics are out of the question, for though they are fearfully interesting to me individually, Indian politics are hardly a fit subject for a letter to a lady. But, outside of politics, any one in my position has no existence, as they absorb his thoughts and attention morning, noon, and night. Even if this were not the case, I do not think the social gossip of Simla or Calcutta would amuse you, except, indeed, you may like to know about a dress which my wife wore at a fancy ball lately given by Sir Frederick Roberts, which was a great success. Indeed, I never saw her look younger or more lovely. She was robed in powder, diamonds, silver and grey, and in her hand she carried a silver staff with the magic number 25 in Roman figures on the top of it. Can

you guess what she represented? A silver wedding—an event which we celebrate this year. Don't you think it was a good idea? . . .

“How little any of us thought, dear Lady Russell, when I took that happy journey with you to Vienna, that I also would some day be an ambassador, and above all things a colleague of Gortchakoff's. Amongst the many thoughts which the prosecution of my public career has suggested, there has been none more constantly present to my mind than the reflection that I have not done discredit to the man who first gave me a start in official life, and to whom I am indebted for all the opportunities of distinction that have since fallen in my way.”

The separation of parents from their children, which casts a shadow over so much of Anglo-Indian life, was a recurrent trouble to Lord and Lady Dufferin. To his eldest daughter (now Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson) her father wrote, while she was in England, many letters overflowing with affection, kindly humour, and earnest solicitude for her welfare.

“It is always such a delight to me when the day comes round for writing you a letter, though it only too often happens that I cannot begin until just before dinner, but what are the most luxuriant feasts in comparison to a chat with one's dear child? . . .

“I am perfectly frantic at the treatment I have received at the hands of Madame Tussaud. To enter those halls, especially as a central figure, is the surest sign an Englishman can have that he has become famous; but to think of all the lovely ladies who will have passed in front of my effigy and have gone away with the conviction that my hair is snow-white, is truly humiliating. I think that the least you could have done would have been to summon the authorities and insist on their purchasing another wig. . . .

“And now I must try and describe in befitting language the august ceremony over which I presided the other day. As you know, the Shah has given your mother the Grand Cordon of the Sun of Persia, and to do her further honour he ordered his Consul-General to proceed from Bombay to Simla with it and a letter from his roval self. I accord-

ingly held a durbar, with the peacock's feathers and all the other paraphernalia, and to add to the solemnity of the scene I ordered the Foreign Secretary to appear in uniform, as indeed we all did. Then with great majesty and decorum William Beresford and Cooper formed a procession with the Persian between them, and marched up the centre of the room to the edge of the carpet, where with some difficulty the Mirza contrived to get the riband over your mother's head without pulling her hair down, and handed her the Star and the Jewel. . . .

"I have got your letter of August 25, and I can well understand that having to make up your mind as to whether you would come or stay must have been very disagreeable to you ; but still, as our one object was that you should do exactly as you liked and what pleased you best, we had no other alternative than to leave you the choice. But do not think that we regarded with anything but dismay and regret the thought of being without you for another year. I cannot tell you what different places both Simla and Calcutta have felt since you left, and with what an ill-grace I have made up my mind to go for another twelve months without a daughter who is every day becoming a greater and a greater joy to me. . . .

"This is a line to welcome you to India. You cannot imagine how my heart flies out to meet you, and I am beside myself with delight at the thought of being with you at Allahabad."

Next year, when two of his children went home, he writes to his eldest son—

"Alas, they left us this morning. We went down to the boat to see them off, and after bidding them good-bye on board, we adjourned to the wharf, and from thence watched the steamer slowly extricating herself from the impediments of the channel. Your mother was very much upset, and we shall all of us miss them dreadfully, especially at breakfast, where it was such a delight to me to find them every morning."

Robert Browning had been one of the poets whose verses, made in honour of the lady to whom Helen's Tower was dedicated, were inscribed on the walls of

its upper chamber.* In September 1887 Lord Dufferin wrote to him—

“One of the two great happinesses of my life has been my mother’s love and the being able to love her in return with such a complete conviction of her being worthy of all the adoration I could pay her, and a great deal more. To preserve her memory and the recollection of what she was has been one of my most constant efforts, and from very early days I envied Cowper the power he possessed of hanging up against the walls of time so beautiful a portrait of his own parent ; but thanks to you, to your kindness, and to your genius, I have the satisfaction of knowing that so long as the English language lasts, as delightful and as true an image as has ever been created of any woman will continue to preserve the memory of my mother to the most distant ages,—and what could any one desire more than this ? The thought of your kindness and of what you have done for me has been constantly present to my mind during the many years that have passed since you wrote your beautiful sonnet † on Helen’s Tower. It now happens that I am printing some copies of a journal which my mother kept during the few months preceding her death, and written with the view of comforting me after she was gone. . . There is nothing very special in what she writes, but it throws a light upon the simplicity and the unselfishness of her nature, and I have thought that my children might like to have this memorial of her. At the same time it

* See p. 142.

† “Who hears of Helen’s Tower, may dream perchance
How the Greek beauty from the Scæan Gate
Gazed on old friends unanimous in hate,
Death-doom’d because of her fair countenance.

“Hearts would leap otherwise at thy advance,
Lady to whom this Tower is consecrate !
Like hers, thy face once made all eyes elate,
Yet, unlike hers, was blessed by every glance.

“The Tower of Hate is outworn, far and strange ;
A transitory shame of long ago,
It dies into the sand from which it sprang ;
But thine, Love’s rock-built Tower, shall fear no change ;
God’s Self laid stable earth’s foundations so,
When all the morning stars together sang.”

ROBERT BROWNING.

occurred to me that I could not give you a better proof of my deep sense of gratitude than by sending you these sacred pages, if for no other reason than as evidence of my desire to take you into my inmost confidence."

Robert Browning answered—

"I have a difficulty indeed in finding words to fully express what I feel on receiving your letter and the Diary; probably the simplest and best way will be to assure you that I have rarely been so gratified and so affected as on this occasion. I was only privileged to see and know a little of your admirable mother, but that little was sufficient to give me the impression you allowed me to put, however imperfectly, on record for the sake of others less fortunate than myself. That you, most fortunate of all in a happiest of lifelong experiences, should have so kindly taken the will for the deed is almost as surprising as delightful; but that you go on to entrust me with that truly 'Sacred' Diary seems a piece of goodness which I can no more characterize than adequately thank you for. Had the Diary come from a person altogether unknown to me, I should have recognized it as one of the most beautiful and touching revelations of a devoted soul that I was ever permitted to participate in; but it supplements and confirms all that was conjectural in my belief, and really almost seems to lift me into a proximity otherwise impossible to one removed, in the main, from the opportunities of a personal intimacy which would have been precious indeed."

Everything that reminded Lord Dufferin of his mother revived the affection with which he cherished her memory. To Mrs. Ward he writes—

"How good and kind of you it was to send me such a large packet of my mother's letters, and how like you to have kept them: but you must not imagine that I am going to take them from you. As soon as they have been printed I will return the originals to you, and not only so, but you shall have a printed copy of them in order that you may glance at them from time to time at your leisure in a form that will not weary your eyes or try your

nerves. I have already had a good deal of my mother's correspondence printed, including the first letter she ever wrote to her own mother after her marriage. It was written during her honeymoon trip and is dated from Paris. Then there are others from Florence describing me as a baby; and so they go on, unfolding her whole life in the most marvellous and touching manner. Apart from her wit, sprightliness, discernment, and good sense, what stands out in highest relief is the extreme tenderness of her affection. I do not suppose there was ever a human being who had such a power of loving. Indeed this passionate ecstasy of affection extended with undiminished force to all her dumb pets, whether horses, birds, or dogs, and the fact of its embracing so many objects in no degree seems to have diminished either its depth or intensity."

The letter subjoined refers to the collection of books in Helen's Tower.

To Miss Emily Lawless—

July 13, 1887.—"How very good and kind of you to send me your beautiful book! Probably you little know how great a favour you have conferred, for it so happens that I have made it a chief object all my life long to collect books given to me by their authors, for a special library which I am forming. As a consequence, I have now about four hundred volumes, all of them arrayed in splendid robes, and each notable for containing something or another by the hand of the writer, either a friendly inscription, as in the case of your book, or a verse or two or a characteristic sketch. The library is called the 'Helen's Tower Library,' and if, as is the fate of all such collections, at some time or another it is eventually dispersed, every number of it, and 'Hurrish' not the least, will be known and prized by the bibliomaniacs of future generations."

A letter to a friend in Canada proves the abiding interest taken by Lord Dufferin in the politics of that country.

July 18, 1887.—"It gave me great pleasure to see in how noble a manner the Canadians rallied round Lord Lansdowne when that wretched Irishman came to trouble

the peace of Toronto. Lord Lansdowne is one of the best, most generous, and wisest landlords in the whole of Ireland, and nothing could be more unfair than to represent him in unfavourable colours. However, his adversaries have done him infinitely more good than harm, and have given an opportunity to the Canadians to show how much they respect and esteem him. . . . As I am a faithful and constant student of *Grip*,* I still keep a pretty good hold of the progress of events in Canada and of the principal events that are attracting public attention, and I am glad to see from their frequent reappearance in *Grip's* pages that all my old friends and ministers are still at the head of their respective parties, and as active as ever in promoting the interests of the country."

On leaving Simla in October Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State—

"On the whole I think the government of India may be very well contented with the work it has accomplished during its sojourn in the hills. Though it is not our legislative season, we have passed two important Land Bills for the Punjab; we have created a University at Allahabad, and brought Oude under the jurisdiction of the High Court of the North-West Provinces; we have completed all our arrangements for the civil administration of Burmah, including the Ruby Mine 'Regulation'; we have worked up our final plans for the frontier fortifications and for the harbour defences, and have got most of the works themselves well under way; we have thrashed out pretty completely the various aspects of the Afghan question, political, financial, and strategical; we have constructed a mobilization scheme of a very minute and effectual character; and we have issued a good many important resolutions, especially one on Sanitation. There is also another circumstance for which I think we may take some credit. Within the last few months the tone of the native press has become far less offensive, or at all events far less hostile to the supreme government than was the case some time ago, thanks to the opportunities I was given when I was last on tour of putting myself into communication with all the principal persons of influence in different parts of India representing the educated section of the community; and

* The Canadian weekly comic paper.

what is equally important, I have been able to establish friendly personal relations with all the leading chiefs, to whom I now write pretty constantly as to personal friends."

The Viceroy was now bound for Sind and Beluchistan, on the western frontiers of India. At Karachi, the seaport near the mouths of the Indus river, he examined the harbour and the forts that were building for its protection. Thence he crossed the Sind desert and was carried by the railway up out of the valley of the Indus to the bare, cold, wind-swept plateau of Pishin, which extends from the head of the passes to the Amran range of hills on the Afghan border. Quetta, the British fortress that guards this frontier, commanding the main roads leading from South Afghanistan toward India, lies not far within the line of these hills, from which the distance to Kandahar is about seventy miles.

To Sir G. Bowen, January 8, 1888, Lord Dufferin wrote—

"We travelled for a whole day through a most weird and extraordinary country—high mountains, glens, and gorges without a blade of grass. In one place the back of the mountain is broken right across as a stick would be broken on a man's knee, and through this gorge the railway is carried out of one valley into the parallel one. The railway now goes to the foot of the Amran range, which is our extreme western frontier. We slept in the train on the night of our arrival, and the next morning I cantered up to the top of the ridge, getting there for a late breakfast. The sight looking towards Kandahar was glorious. At our feet there stretched a great scarlet sea of sand, with black islands of basalt rising up here and there in the midst of it. Beyond were the blue hills that encircle Kandahar. It made me feel a little like Moses on Pisgah, though I do not know that Sir Frederick Roberts, who was with me, will be the Joshua to descend into the promised land."

To Sir Harry Verney—

January 6, 1888.—"We have now determined to drive

a tunnel through the (Amran) mountain, so that we may be in a position to reach Kandahar in a fortnight should it be thought advisable to do so. In the mean time Quetta is to be converted into a regular arsenal, fully provided with stores and all the material of war. It is a tremendously strong position, its front being protected for miles by an impassable barrier of rock, except for a short interval which will be secured by a line of redoubts. We went up to Pishin by what is known as the Hurnai route, and descended by the Bolan pass. The Bolan line was constructed under my auspices at the time when England was putting her ships into the water and calling out her reserves."

Descending again to the Indian plains, the party went northward to Peshawar, whence Lord Dufferin rode up the Khaibar pass to its highest point at Lundi Kotal, and looked down on the valley of the Kabul river, that gradually widens out westward to Jelahabad. All the wild folk of the frontier tribes came down to see the Viceroy, who also received their headmen in a great Durbar at Peshawar. From this far north-west corner of the British dominion—where a mere line separates a British district, with its police, schools, laws, and magistrates, from the barbarous anarchy of fierce clans in a state of perpetual warfare—Lord Dufferin returned into the very different atmosphere of Calcutta, to a softer climate and people, halting at the chief Indian cities on his route.

"I have now " (he wrote) "been to the eastern and to the western extremities of my empire, from the one side looking down upon China, and from the other upon what may be almost called Russia."

And after the termination of his far-western travel, he found himself again on the official treadmill, performing the daily rounds of perpetual minuting and correspondence.

To Sir William Gregory—

"A thousand thanks for your charming letter of Decem-

ber 1. You cannot think how I value your correspondence. You always tell me exactly what I want to know, and in so pleasant and cheerful a manner that it is like a ray of light poured into my dull room, where hour after hour I sit with my nose to the grindstone. It is an odd thing to say, but dulness is certainly the characteristic of an Indian Viceroy's existence. All the people who surround him are younger than himself ; he has no companions or playfellows ; even the pretty women who might condescend to cheer him it is better for him to keep at a distance ; and, except occasionally, the business he has to deal with is of a very uninteresting and *terre-à-terre* description, for, though he would make a great mistake if he drowned himself too much in details, it is well he should know everything that goes on ; and the examination of even very insignificant questions is forced upon him by disagreements between the Departments, in reference to which he is the only arbiter."

CHAPTER XIV.

INDIA.

FROM a letter written to Sir William Gregory in October 1887 it appears that Lord Dufferin was then contemplating resignation of the Governor Generalship before his full term should have expired, and a return to diplomacy.

“At the conclusion of your letter you ask me whether I would like to go to Rome. It is rather an odd coincidence, but it so happens that the other day I wrote to Lord Salisbury, and told him that if in a year's time there happened to be an embassy at his disposal I would be willing to take a four years' turn in India instead of five, as I found it was such a tremendous disadvantage being separated from my children just at the time it was most necessary I should be near them in order to start them on their respective careers, and I happened to mention that I should be very well content to go to Rome. Italy is the land of my birth, and having done a considerable stroke of work in my day, I should not at all mind such an honourable retirement as that which Rome would offer, though of course I should prefer Paris, as being both nearer home, and perhaps more interesting. As you say, however, Rome has lately become a very important centre of affairs. But I was careful to add that I had no earthly right to expect any further favours from the government, having had more than my share of important offices, and there being many others whom I dare say the Foreign Office would be anxious to accommodate.”

Early in February 1888 Lord Salisbury telegraphed to him that his appointment to the Roman Embassy would be made, that Lord Lansdowne would be his successor in India, and that he should take up his diplomatic office before the year's end. In the letter with which Lord Dufferin replied he glances back over the course of affairs during the first three years of his Viceroyalty.

February 5, 1888.—"I received your telegram about Rome yesterday, and I am just in time before the post goes out to thank you for the great consideration you have shown me in the matter. I am delighted with the arrangement in every respect. I think Lansdowne will make an excellent Viceroy. Indeed when I bade him good-bye before he went to Canada I prophesied that Calcutta would be his ultimate destination. I shall be quite ready to leave in November, and by that time I shall have completed four years' service in India, which is as long a term as most of my immediate predecessors have remained. I have had a good many difficulties to contend with, especially on account of the great disturbance imported into our finances by the fall in silver, which has made me a poorer Viceroy by three millions a year than I was when I arrived in the country, but otherwise I hope that my administration has been fairly successful.

"We have now thoroughly subdued Burmah, and though for many a long day robberies and dacoities on a small scale will continue, there is no longer a shadow of resistance in any part of the province. All our frontier railways have been completed. Our five principal sea-ports are being fortified. The army has not only been increased, and a Reserve initiated, but the condition of the native soldier has been greatly improved. The most vulnerable part of our north-west frontier has been rendered inexpugnable, and a mobilization scheme has been worked out and partially executed, which will enable us to make any forward movement that may be necessary with rapidity and precision. Thanks to your own skilful management, the Russo-Afghan demarcation has been completed, and Russia herself seems to have assumed for the present a less aggressive attitude in Turkestan. Our relations with the Amir are excellent, and by our recent settlement with Ayub

Khan * we have gathered up all the possible pretenders to the Afghan throne in the hollow of our hand. The chiefs of the independent tribes that rule the country between us and Afghanistan have recently visited me at Calcutta, as well as the two sons of the ruler of Chitral ; and we are making arrangements for placing our relations with all these wild men upon a more intimate and effective footing. We have organized an Intelligence Department for the whole of India. Two Commissions, one a Retrenchment Commission, and the other a Civil Service Commission, have thoroughly eviscerated those two important subjects. We have passed a gigantic Land Bill for Bengal, and got through some very satisfactory land legislation in Oudh and the Punjab, as well as in the south of India. We have given the North-West Provinces a University and a Legislative Council. We have done a good deal for the Mahomedans in different ways, and have put their pilgrim traffic on an excellent basis. Our relations with all the native states are very friendly, and the animosity which at one time existed between the Anglo-Indians and the advanced natives has considerably calmed down, while the native Press during the last year, though now and then some insignificant paper indulges in a vicious or disloyal attack, has become more reasonable, and less abusive of the government. This is all the more creditable to them, considering that on two occasions I have been forced to add to the taxes of the country, one of them being an income-tax.

"The foregoing is certainly not a very brilliant record as compared with what has been achieved by some of my predecessors, but I never had any ambition to distinguish my reign by a sensational policy, believing as I did (and subsequent experience has only confirmed the conviction) that in the present condition of affairs it is best for the country that the administration should be driven at a low and steady pressure. Under these circumstances I think I can come home with a clear conscience, especially as the general situation of affairs is prosperous and quiet. The prospect of going to Rome is extremely agreeable to me on many accounts, and I am delighted to think that I shall be again serving under your immediate orders, and

* The Afghan prince who had been the Amir's rival for the Kabul throne. He had been defeated and driven into exile ; and was now under surveillance in India.

that I shall have the pleasure of renewing my correspondence with you.

"In my telegram I have ventured to ask you, when the announcement of Lord Lansdowne's succession to the Indian Viceroyalty is made, that you would kindly allow it to be understood that I am not returning home through any difference with the government, or in consequence of having lost your confidence. The fact is every day I am feeling more acutely that I have no right to sacrifice the interests of my children either to my ambition or to any other consideration, and undoubtedly my being here is a great disadvantage both to those of them who are with us, and to those who are in England—to the one that they should be in India, and to the other that they should be separated from their parents."

A week later, when the news had been published in India and England, and confirmed by the Viceroy's speech in the Legislative Council, the coming change of Viceroys was the universal topic at Calcutta and elsewhere. From his friends at home letters of regret on public grounds, and of satisfaction at the prospect of seeing him again at home, began to pour in; whil in the world at large there was much curiosity as to Lord Dufferin's reasons for curtailing by one year the ordinary term of a Governor Generalship; although it may be remarked that none of his three immediate predecessors had served the full period. But Lord Dufferin's intention to depart had been announced within very little more than ~~three~~ years from the date of his arrival; and Lady Dufferin notes in her Journal that "everybody talks as if we were going to-morrow, whereas we really have nine months more to stay."

In regard to the motives that decided him to leave, they are given in the subjoined extracts from letters to Mr. J. A. Godley—

From Lord Dufferin—

February 13, 1888.—"I do not imagine that my desire to go home a year sooner than the expiration of my natural term will have surprised you. Four years is about the average time that my immediate predecessors have re-

mained. The country is quiet, prosperous, and contented, so I think I can lay down this heavy burden with a clear conscience. The fact is, my being away from Europe at this time is very disadvantageous to my children, both to those who are here and to those who are at home. My second and third sons are just at the age when they most require their parents' supervision; another reason is the obvious degree to which her present life is beginning to tell upon my wife's health. It is not that the climate does not suit her; thank God we both of us have had excellent health since we came to India. I did my best to induce her to go home this cold weather with her two girls, but she absolutely refused to leave me, so that all these considerations combined have led to my taking the step I mention. No one can lay down so great an office without a pang of regret, but I had no right to sacrifice to my own ambition the interests of so many who are dependent on me; and I have not even the excuse of being able to pretend that my continued presence here was a public necessity. There are no critical matters on hand, and a clever and experienced man like Lansdowne will be able to take up all the current business without difficulty or inconvenience."

From Sir D. Wallace—

February 14, 1888.—"The great theme of interest for the moment is the announcement that the Viceroy retires at the end of this year. I need not explain to you the private reasons which have induced him to take this step, but I may tell you that one of the current explanations is entirely devoid of foundation—I mean the idea that his health has given way. In reality he has never felt better in his life, or more capable of work. You remember that Stevenson used to say when he was building the Menai Tubular Bridge, 'I go to bed at night with those gigantic tubes and I get up with them in the morning.' Now if a Viceroy did that sort of thing he would never get up at all, for the cares and responsibilities of his office would smother him; but happily for Lord Dufferin he has an entirely different temperament and seems to throw off his cares when the time for rest comes as easily as he does his great coat. Nor is he ever worried and made fidgety by heavy responsibilities. Indeed he often reminds me of what I

have heard said of the late General MacGregor by those who had been on service with him—'To see Mac perfectly cool and at his best you must see him under a heavy fire.'"

To Lord Cross, then Secretary of State for India, Lord Dufferin wrote—

February 13, 1888.—"Of course if there were any critical question pending, or if my continuance at my post were in any way necessary to the public service, I would sacrifice every other consideration to my duty; but the country is really prosperous, quiet, and contented; there is no big matter on hand that requires to be carried through by the same mind that initiated it, nor any current business which an able and intelligent man like Lansdowne will not be able to take up with perfect ease and convenience."

To Lord Northbrook—

March 13, 1888.—"Many thanks for your kind letter of the 10th. You can well understand that there is no person whose good opinion I value more highly than yours, and it has been a great comfort to me to learn that my administration of this country which you know so well, and in which you continue to take so great an interest, has on the whole met with your approval. One is so busy here morning, noon, and night, and has to turn so instantly from one subject to another, that one has not time even to ask one's self how far one is doing well or not, or what opinions may be held at home of one's proceedings, consequently the indulgent communications, both public and private, which I have received from the India Office and from persons like yourself, have come upon me as a surprise, though a very pleasant one. I knew of course that I was doing my best, and hoped that at the end the balance would be found on the right side of the account, but I was quite uncertain whether other people would see the matter in the same light."

To the Earl of Lytton—

April 20, 1888.—"Political life in England has long ceased to be attractive to me, and Rome is the place I myself suggested, for it will suit me better than any other

post that could be named. I have arrived at that time of life when one is not ambitious either of distinction or of very hard work, though on the other hand I should hate to be idle, so that I hope to find in Rome the status which exactly suits my views and temperament. Certainly not the least of my pleasures will be to compare notes occasionally with you in respect of our several charges."

To the Queen he wrote—

"It is with infinite reluctance that Lord Dufferin lays down his great office, but he is the oldest Viceroy that has ever administered the government of India, and he was beginning to be afraid that another year might find him less capable of hard work and less energetic than it is desirable your Majesty's Representative in this country should be. Even Lord Lawrence was only fifty-eight when he returned to England, whereas Lord Dufferin will be sixty-three before he is again admitted to kiss the hand of the Queen-Empress."

On March 23, before a very large assemblage in the town hall of Calcutta, farewell addresses were presented to Lord and Lady Dufferin, whose departure from India had been announced for the following November, and who were then leaving Calcutta for the upper provinces and Simla. Lady Dufferin was very heartily congratulated upon the success of her exertions to provide medical aid for the women * of India; and the thanks of the Indian community were tendered to her.

The Viceroy, in acknowledging the address read to him, reviewed the events that had marked the period of his Governor Generalship, and in speaking of the administrative and legislative work that had been accomplished, he acknowledged cordially the assistance that he had received from his colleagues in Council and from public servants of all ranks in India. Turning to foreign affairs he explained the policy and action of the government in regard to Afghanistan and to Burmah; and he pronounced a warm and well-merited eulogy upon the

* See Appendix, p. 569.

loyalty and patriotism of the Indian princes, who had spontaneously placed their resources, their troops, and their treasure at the service of the government of India for employment, at need, in the defence of the empire.

Toward the conclusion of his speech, he said—

“What can I say to you, Europeans and Natives alike, but this:—Whatever you do, live in unity and concord and good fellowship with each other. Fate has united both races in a community of interests, and neither can do without the other. The rule of England maintains peace and justice within the borders of India, and secures its safety from outside dangers, but that rule cannot be exercised either effectually or acceptably without the loyalty and assistance of the native races. Therefore again I say, co-operate with each other in a generous and genial spirit. I confess I would rather see the Europeans, the Hindus, and Mahomedans united in criticizing the government, than that the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the Europeans and the Natives, should become estranged from each other by unworthy prejudices or animosities of race and religion. God forbid that the British government should ever seek to maintain its rule in India by fomenting race-hatreds among its subjects. . . . To those amongst my native friends who, imbued with the political literature of the West, are seeking to apply to India the lessons they have learnt from the history of constitutional countries, I would say, pursue your objects, which no one can pronounce to be unworthy, with temper, with moderation, and with a due perception of the peculiar circumstances of your native land. Found your claims, whatever they may be, upon what is real and true, and not upon what is baseless and fantastic. . . .

“I shall never forget my friends in this country. It will always be my earnest endeavour, if I ever again take part in public life in England, to further the interests of my Indian fellow-subjects, and to consider in a sympathetic and liberal spirit whatever demands they may prefer. The English empire in India is, indeed, the marvel of the world; and, encouraged by your approbation, I can carry home with me the conviction that, in the opinion of my Anglo-Indian countrymen, and of my Indian fellow-subjects, I have done nothing during the four years of my anxious rule to shake its stability, to dim the glory of its majesty,

or to tarnish that reputation for humanity, justice, and truth which is its crowning and most precious attribute."

A week later, after some days at Barrackpore, the Viceregal party travelled northward to Lucknow, where an evening assembly was held in their honour by the Talukdars of Oudh, who represent the most important association of large landholders in India. Lord Dufferin, in replying to their address, touched upon what had been done in his time for the united provinces, the establishment of the Allahabad university and of a Legislative Council, the passing of the Oudh Rent Act, and the development of municipal institutions. From Lucknow Lord Dufferin made an excursion in pursuit of tigers, and by the middle of April they were all again at Simla.

To Mr. Godley he writes—

June 21, 1888.—"Lansdowne is certainly fortunate in getting a six months' holiday in England between his two Governorships. I have never had such good luck. I was packed off to Russia within six weeks after having returned from Canada. Then I only got a couple of months between St. Petersburg and Constantinople, and less than two months between Constantinople and India; that is to say, scarcely six months in sixteen years, and now I have to go straight to Rome before getting a holiday in England. Still I have not the slightest right to complain, for few men have had so smooth and prosperous and happy a public career, and I wish it was all to come over again."

To Mr. Hepburn—

June 22, 1888.—"Your letter arrived on the morning of the 21st. I do not know which touched me most, that you should have written it, or that you should always take so much pains, no matter where I am, that the dear missive should reach me on the exact day. Alas! alas! these anniversaries are getting less and less welcome and remind me more and more of the necessity of setting my house in order. Indeed it is the sense of this latter obligation that has contributed to bring me home before the conclusion of my term, for there are a great number of things connected

with my property, and also with my mother's correspondence, that I wish to get arranged before the curtain drops. . . .

"I shall carry back with me many happy reminiscences, a great deal of added experience, and some interesting records and souvenirs; amongst the latter a very fine collection of miniatures of the native Princes which they have sent me in exchange for portraits of Lady Dufferin and myself, which I transmitted to them, on porcelain. As I think I have already told you I go straight to Rome, where my family, the faithless creatures, drop me in order to hasten to London, in time for the season, though they have another very good excuse for their base conduct in the fact that the Embassy is absolutely uninhabitable at this moment for want of furniture. Having acquired the Persian tongue I am now studying Italian.

"By-the-by you ask me if I am not an Oxford Doctor. This honour was granted to me when I came home from Canada, and I have now just been made a Doctor of Cambridge. Indeed few people—considering, as you unkindly remark, that I never took my Bachelor's degree, though I beg to remind you I passed the examination—are more Donnish than myself, for not only am I a Doctor of Harvard University in America, and of the Laval and Toronto Universities in Canada, and of Oriental Learning in the Lahore University, but also I have been made Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland. I beg therefore that the simple Master of Arts will henceforth treat me with proper respect, even though from long habit and ancient love I should subscribe myself his affectionate old friend,

"DUFFERIN."

Life at Simla has its festive, not to say frivolous, side, yet hard work goes on there uninterruptedly; laws are promulgated, as of old time, from the high mountains to the people in the plains below; and several declarations of war have issued from those serene altitudes. "Our mu'ual letters," Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross, "are becoming shorter and shorter, for happy is the country without annals;" but when nothing stirs in India the frontiers can usually be relied upon to provide interesting intelligence. For a long time past the tribes of the Black mountain, upon the Punjab border, had

been giving trouble by raiding our villages and killing or carrying off our subjects. At last, in June 1888 they attacked a small British detachment which had incautiously approached the boundary, and two English officers, Major Battye and Captain Urmston, were killed in the conflict. The government of India reluctantly sanctioned an expedition ; which was postponed, however, until October, when a force of 8000 men crossed the border and chastised the unruly clansmen. Then in August a serious revolt against the Amir broke out in Afghanistan. Ishak Khan, the Amir's cousin, who was governing the province of northern Afghanistan, and whose attitude had latterly been unsatisfactory, received a summons to Kabul, ostensibly for a discussion of pending administrative questions. To accept or decline such ambiguous invitations is equally perilous in such circumstances. Ishak Khan knew how a visit of this kind usually ends, and the Amir's message was peremptory. Like other statesmen of repute, he had three courses open to him ; he might go, or make dilatory excuses, or revolt openly ; and he chose the third as on the whole safest. He declared himself the rightful Amir, mustered his adherents, and very nearly defeated Abdurrahman's forces in the battle that ensued in September ; but he was finally routed, and fled across the border into Russian territory. The Amir, nevertheless, had been so much alarmed that he had urgently pressed the Viceroy to push forward British troops to the outposts on his frontier, in order that they might march to his aid if the rebellion became formidable. When this business was near its end Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross—

October 8, 1888.—"Matters are going on prosperously, in Afghanistan, for now the Amir has reported the complete victory of his troops over Ishak Khan near Tashkurgan. As this affair seems to have been pretty decisive, I am in hopes we shall soon hear news of Ishak's complete disappearance, for I suppose he will fly to Russia. At one time I was made rather uneasy by learning that the Amir

was filling the moat round the fort of Kabul with water, and gathering in supplies. It now appears that a refugee from the recent engagement had brought him a false report of the death of his general and the overthrow of his army, and it was not till three days afterwards that he received the truer and pleasanter account. A Persian story-teller relates that after the king's forces had been defeated he was informed that he had gained a great victory. When he subsequently learned the real truth, he ordered the bearer of the false intelligence to be crucified. The man, however, protested that he deserved to be rewarded rather than punished, since he had given the Padishah three days' happiness."

Among the most important measures that were taken up in the latter years of Lord Dufferin's administration, were certain changes in the administration of the army ; the raising of the strength of the army, and its better organization ; the plan for mobilisation ; an improvement in the position of British and Native soldiers ; the reorganization of certain army departments ; and the development of the defences of the Indian empire.

The project of reorganizing the superior military command in the Indian army was set forward under Lord Dufferin's Governor Generalship so effectively that it must be briefly explained. From the beginning of the British dominion in India the armies of Bombay and Madras had belonged, so to speak, to the governments of those provinces, which were originally almost independent Presidencies ; and they were under separate Commanders-in-Chief, who held seats in the Provincial Councils. Over these armies the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India was limited and indirect ; so that the only force immediately under his control was the Bengal army. The system had been found, by frequent experience in war-time, to be unsuited to modern needs and conditions of military concentration. In earlier days our fighting had been within India, whereas latterly the field of our campaigns has lain outside ; since our main concern is now for the defence of our external frontiers and protectorates. The divisions of

practical responsibility, the want of uniformity, the demand for unity of military control, rendered a change necessary. The subject had been for some years previously under consideration ; and the proposal generally accepted was to bring all the military forces in India, divided into four army corps, under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India and of the supreme government. Nothing, however, had been settled when in 1885 Lord Dufferin took up again the scheme, and recommended to the Secretary of State that the abolition of what was known as the Presidential system should be carried out without further delay. A despatch sent home by the Governor General in Council represented urgently "the grave inconvenience which must result if this government is called upon to undertake exclusive military operations under the present system of divided military administration ;" and the misgivings with which the contingency of war under such disabilities was regarded. But it was not until 1888, when the home authorities had been again pressed for a decision upon this question, that under their instructions a complete and detailed scheme was submitted for approval by Her Majesty's government. Lord Dufferin added to these papers a long Minute showing that he had carefully examined all the various parts and particulars of this organic reform. In summarizing the main points of the scheme he showed that each of the four armies was to be commanded by a Lieutenant-General, aided by a strong military and departmental staff ; while the Commander-in-Chief would be drawn into closer financial relation with the government, and would command in reality as well as in name the whole of the military forces in India, being freed from the detailed executive business of the Bengal army. Toward the end of the Minute he said—

"In conclusion, I desire to point out to my colleagues that these opinions are founded upon no mere theoretical considerations, but are based upon experience, for it has been my lot to overlook during my tenure of office con-

siderable military operations, and to enter upon military questions of great magnitude and importance.

"No sooner had I arrived in India than we had to despatch a force to Suakin, and to assist the Imperial government with large reinforcements of transport; then came the war preparations of 1885, and following immediately on the heels of the latter the campaign in Burmah of 1885-86-87; while the period of my Viceroyalty is closed by the expedition to Sikkim and the coming campaign in Hazara. I have therefore had a large experience of the working of the military administration during the preparation for and conduct of campaigns; and I do not hesitate to say that although, as in all human systems, there are defects which may be remedied, the Indian army and its military administration will bear comparison with any other army in the world. Many important changes have taken place within the army since 1885; the fighting material has been largely increased, regiments have been linked together, the reserve system has been introduced, the commands and staff of the army have been reorganized, various beneficial reforms have been carried into effect, and the defences of the Empire are now, I trust, rapidly approaching a satisfactory completion. And lastly, I must mention the great measure of mobilisation, to which I gave my unqualified support from the first, under which it will be possible to put large forces rapidly into the field with less labour than was required a few years back to place on active service mere detachments of troops."

The plan of mobilisation had been worked out upon a very complete memorandum prepared by the Military Secretary to the Indian government—Major-General (now Sir Edwin) Collen—in which he went over the whole ground, and made certain definite proposals.

"These were accepted at once. I was at a ball at Government House, when Lord Dufferin came up to me and said, 'I have read your memorandum and nearly all the appendices, and I will support you through thick and thin.'"*

But it was not until some time after Lord Dufferin's

* "Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty," by Sir Edwin Collen. *National Review*.

departure from India that his scheme for the abolition of the Presidency commands was finally approved, and the Indian forces were distributed into four army-corps, directly under the Commander-in-Chief.

In September the Viceroy was informed that the Queen had been pleased to confer upon him a marquisate, and it became necessary that the new title should be in some way connected with his public career and services. On this question Lord Dufferin wrote to a friend in England—

“I was very anxious to take the title of Quebec, for the town owes its preservation to me, as I saved its walls from destruction and rebuilt its gates, and without them it would have been a far less striking city than it is. Moreover, so many of my happiest associations are connected with it; and I also think it sounds well. The Queen, however, though she did not actually refuse, demurred to the title of Quebec, and she intimated, and Lord Salisbury did the same, that I ought to take my title from some town in India, but this is quite impossible, for there is no town in India with which I am at all specially connected. In fact, people would very much resent if I called myself the Marquis of Agra, or Delhi, or Benares, or Lahore. Lord Salisbury suggested some place in Burmah, but all the names in Burmah are horribly uncouth, and would sound like names out of one of Offenbach's operas or the *Mikado*. The only possible one is Ava, and we have been very much debating whether we should become the Marquis and Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, with Earl of Ava for the second title.”

To Lord Salisbury he telegraphed—

“Vexed to worry you about a personal trifle, but one is responsible to future generations for choice of a title. Though preferring Quebec, whose walls I saved from destruction, and whose gates I rebuilt, I do not like running counter to the least of the Queen's wishes, and therefore, in accordance with Her Majesty's and your kind suggestion, would ask permission to take the title of Dufferin and Ava, with that of Earl of Ava for my eldest son. If this latter

arrangement is adopted, would be glad that, when the title is announced, it might be intimated that it is in obedience to the Queen's command that I have taken the title of Ava, otherwise the adoption of such a title might seem presumptuous."

To Lord Cross he wrote—

September 17, 1888.—"Before touching upon current events here, I desire to repeat at greater length the expression of deep gratitude which I have already conveyed to you by telegram for the honour which Her Majesty and Her Majesty's government have been pleased to confer upon me. The actual accession of rank is of course of minor importance; but what I do value beyond all things is the signal manner in which our Sovereign and those whom I have had the happiness of serving have been pleased to testify their approval of my conduct and administration. To return home with this mark of their approbation will be very pleasant, and all the more so because I have fair grounds for hoping that public opinion will on the whole be inclined to endorse their verdict. Though I well know I might in many respects have done better, I am not conscious of having made any actual blunders in regard to the various difficult problems with which I have had to deal. Each successive year will, I have no doubt, prove that the annexation of Burmah was both a necessary, a desirable, and a beneficent act, while every one will agree that the fortification of our north-west frontier and of our seaports, as well as our general policy in Afghanistan, have been steps in the right direction. With regard to internal affairs, the lamentable depletion of our income through the fall in silver has of course greatly curtailed one's power of doing good. Our land legislation is now generally regarded as having been salutary and successful, while we have laid the foundations for considerable improvement both in sanitation and in technical education. The Mahomedans also have certainly been brought much more into sympathy with the government than they were before. . . . My personal relations with all the Indian princes, with the exception perhaps of Holkar, whom I have scarcely seen since his accession, have been very friendly and intimate, and there is scarcely one of them who has not expressed his regret at my departure."

To Mr. Gladstone, for his golden-wedding day, Lord Dufferin had sent his congratulations, with a silver bowl ; and had added an invitation to Rome.

“ Politics at home ” (he wrote) “ have become so fierce that I infinitely prefer serving my country abroad to re-engaging in the distasteful turmoil, where my best and dearest friends have separated themselves into hostile camps.”

Mr. Gladstone replied—

October 10, 1888.—“ As acts of mercy are twice blest, I rejoice to think how rich your reward will be, from the number of them which you perform. I thank you for your kind remembrance of our grand jubilee, though my wife and I hold that the jubilee only arrives when fifty years are complete. . . . And now again we thank you for the most seductive of proposals that we should visit you and Lady Dufferin at Rome. I am sorry to say that with decaying senses, the doors of knowledge closing, I feel that my visiting days are very nearly at an end ; but if anything could give me a fresh stock of life and spirits, it is this prospect which you open, and I would even face the Pope, an act of which I have a certain dread. We have not absolutely extinguished the idea of a touch of Italy this winter, but that I fear would be too early for you, as you will no doubt take a breath of home after your long spell oversea.

“ Well, it must be owned that the politics are certainly very bad. But even in these fierce straits we have two things to recollect—the first, that when the cause is very big and the men in earnest, there must be energy in the fight, and this soon passes into wrath. The second is, that even now some people show that they know how to behave themselves ; but dissentient opponents fall, in this respect, into many classes. Justice compels me to put Derby at the head, and in a class perhaps by himself. I never have understood, and now have little time left me to understand, why Hartington and the rest of them have deemed it their duty to take the whole work of arguing Home Rule, and much of it for the government of Ireland, off the hands of the Ministers and the Tories. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and others joined Mr. Pitt against their own party on the French war, but I never heard that they relieved

him of the business of defending it. The younger men, at any rate, will like to dispose of the whole affair at the next election, and, as I trust, before worse comes of it.

"The harvest in this country, thank God, has (thus far) turned out better than was expected, and there is, I believe, an unequivocal improvement in trade. I wish I could regard the state of Europe with better hopes. But it is a real comfort that Salisbury, so far as we know, gives us no just cause of complaint. I think the Italians have gone further into the mess than they need have done. How I should like a talk with you about them! God be with you."

Lord Dufferin's Viceregal days were now numbered; and both his letters and speeches became retrospective. On November 5 he wrote to Lord Arthur Russell from Simla—

"Here we are riding at single anchor, our boxes all packed, and indeed many of them on their way to Rome and England. We first go to Lahore, where I hope to make final arrangements with the Punjab chiefs for supplementing the British army with a moderate-sized but well-disciplined contingent of native troops. Then we attend the wedding of a Sikh prince, and so wander leisurely *viâ* the Ganges to Calcutta, which home of his future fame and labours Lansdowne will reach on December 8. I can scarcely believe that four years have elapsed since Ripon greeted me as I shall greet my successor. It is another chapter of the book of one's life closed, and to which there can be but few and short ones to be added. Still I think I can say *nunc dignittis* with a clear conscience. The rebel Ishak and his army have been dispersed to the four winds. The Amir of Afghanistan has been compelled to show his hand, and is now more bound to us than ever, at the same time that he remains in undisputed possession of his whole kingdom, while every other possible competitor is in our hands—a circumstance which will enable us to control Afghan politics pretty completely should sickness or assassination overtake Abdurrahman. The Black Mountain expedition has proved a most successful and thorough business, and though we shall not absolutely annex the country, we shall have so opened it up with roads, and so cowed its tribes, that it will be as much a portion of British territory as if it had been annexed. The Chinese Ampa, accom-

panied by some Tibetan officials, is on his way to the frontier with the view of making peace. Burmah, too, is now almost as quiet as any part of India, so that I shall hand over the empire to my successor without a cloud on the horizon, while there are no really serious questions pending connected with our domestic politics. . . . Before I leave (only this is strictly between ourselves) I shall hope to have framed a plan which will settle satisfactorily all the questions and difficulties raised by the native Home Rulers, if only it is applied with a little judgment, tact, and firmness. I may add to all this that our frontiers and our seaports have been or are being put into a state of defence, and there has, moreover, been a large amount of domestic legislation in the way of Rent Acts and other measures of the kind, so that altogether I feel as if I had earned a right to a little rest and quiet."

One week later the whole party departed from their Himalayan home for Lahore, where Lady Dufferin opened one of the many hospitals for Indian women that had been established under her auspices in India; and the next stage was to the capital of a native State, Patiala. Here they attended the chief's wedding, but at night one of the perils of Indian camp-life fell upon them.

"We are all in tents, and about one o'clock in the morning my daughter awoke me to tell me that her tent was on fire. It was already blazing over her head before she started up from sleep, and she and her maid had only time to slip out before the whole thing was one mass of roaring fire. Five minutes afterwards all that remained of the tent was a carpet of blackened ashes. She has lost everything that she possessed except a little casket of trinkets which she had the presence of mind to carry off with her, every stitch of her clothing having been destroyed, so that now she is indebted to the parish for what she wears."

From Patiala they travelled southward, halting at some towns, receiving farewell addresses, and making an excursion by water to Dacca in eastern Bengal, until Calcutta was reached at the end of November.

The Scotsmen of Calcutta dine together annually on St. Andrew's Day; and this year Lord Dufferin was

their principal guest. Within a week he was to make over charge of his Governor Generalship, so that the occasion was well timed for his farewell speech, reviewing the course of his administration and declaring his policy upon one pending question of special interest. After claiming his right, by ancestral descent, to the name of Scotsman, "although" (he took care to say) "I have been very much improved by having been an Irishman for three hundred years," Lord Dufferin proceeded once more to disprove, at some length, the imputation that the work of pacifying Burmah had been protracted by reluctance on the part of his government to spend money boldly, by that kind of thrift which costs more than prodigality. To misrepresentations on this subject, as they affected the principal achievement of his Indian career, he was particularly sensitive, and he took this opportunity of publicly refuting them.

Turning next to the general field of Indian politics, he launched out upon one of those comprehensive and picturesque surveys of the country and its people, resembling the freehand landscape-painting of an imaginative artist, that in Canada as well as India imparted distinction to his oratory, and left a vivid scenic impression on his audience.

"Well, then, gentlemen, what is India? It is an empire equal in size, if Russia be excluded, to the entire continent of Europe, with a population of 250 million souls. This population is composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practising diverse rites, speaking different languages—the Census Report says that there are 106 different Indian tongues—not dialects, mind you—of which 18 are spoken by more than a million persons—while many of them are still further separated from each other by discordant prejudices, by conflicting social usages, and even antagonistic material interests. Perhaps the most patent peculiarity of our Indian 'Cosmos' is its division into two mighty political communities—the Hindus, numbering 190 millions, and the Mahomedans, a nation of 50 millions—whose distinctive characteristics, whether religious, social, or ethnological, it is of course unnecessary for

me to refer to before such an audience as the present. But to these two great divisions must be added a host of minor nationalities—though minor is a misleading term, since most of them may be numbered by millions—who, though some are included in the two broader categories I have mentioned, are as completely differentiated from each other as are the Hindus from the Mahomedans; such as the Sikhs, with their warlike habits and traditions and their theocratic enthusiasm; the Rohillas, the Pathans, the Assamese; the Beluchees, and the other wild and martial tribes on our frontiers; the hillmen dwelling in the folds of the Himalayas; our subjects in Burmah, Mongol in race and Buddhist in religion; the Khonds, Mairs, and Bheels, and other non-Aryan peoples in the centre and south of India; and the enterprising Parsees with their rapidly developing manufactures and commercial interests. Again, amongst these numerous communities may be found at one and the same moment all the various stages of civilization through which mankind has passed from the pre-historic ages to the present day. At one end of the scale we have the naked savage hillman, with his stone weapons, his head-hunting, his polyandrous habits, and his childish superstitions; and at the other the Europeanized native gentleman, with his refinement and polish, his literary culture, his Western philosophy, and his advanced political ideas, while between the two lie layer upon layer, or in close juxtaposition, wandering communities with their flocks of goats and moving tents; collections of undisciplined warriors, with their blood feuds, their clan organization and loose tribal government; feudal chiefs and barons with their picturesque retainers, their seignorial jurisdiction, and their mediæval modes of life; and modernized country gentlemen and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with their well-managed estates and prosperous enterprises. Besides all these, who are under our own direct administration, the government of India is required to exercise a certain amount of supervision over the 117 native States, with their princely rulers, their autocratic executives, their independent jurisdictions, and their 50 millions of inhabitants. The mere enumeration of these diversified elements must suggest to the most unimaginative mind a picture of as complicated a social and political organization as has ever tasked human ingenuity to govern and administer. . . . ”

Glancing next beyond India proper—that vast tract

enclosed between the mountains and the sea—the speaker carried his audience along the empire's frontier, and touched upon the complicated system of external relations that has gradually been built up for its protection. The seaports are its water-gates, the hill-ranges its natural ramparts; the outlying States form advanced outworks. If he had reminded the Scotsmen whom he was addressing, that whereas one frontier of the British empire, India's outer line of military defence, now marches with Russia on the Oxus, three hundred years earlier the extreme frontier of both England and Scotland lay on the Tweed—he might have brought home to them, at one stroke, some measure of the territorial expansion that has followed the union of the two nations at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

“ If, again, we turn our eyes outwards, it will be found that our external obligations are hardly less onerous and imperative than those confronting us from within. India has a land frontier of nearly 6000 miles, and a seaboard of about 9000 miles. On the east she is conterminous with Siam and China, on the north with Tibet, Bhutan, and Nepal, and on the west she marches, at all events diplomatically, with Russia. On her coasts are many rich and prosperous seaports—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kurra-chee, Rangoon—and every year we are made more painfully aware to how serious an extent our contiguity with foreign nations, whether civilized or uncivilized, and the complications arising both out of Eastern and Western politics, may expose us to attack, and of the necessity of walking both warily and wisely in respect of our international relations, and of taking those precautions, however onerous or expensive, which are incumbent on every nation that finds itself in contact with enterprising military monarchies or rival maritime powers. It is then for the outward protection and for the internal control,—it is for the welfare, good government, and progress of this congeries of nations, religions, tribes, and communities, with the tremendous latent forces and disruptive potentialities which they contain, that the government of India is answerable; and it is in reference to the ever-shifting and multiplying requirements of this complicated political organization, that it has been

called upon from time to time to shape and modify its system of administration. . . .”

One can perceive that in all these wide flights of oratory the Viceroy was circling round about the point upon which he settled down as his speech drew toward its end. He had been enlarging upon the magnitude and intricate variety of the responsibilities devolving upon the government of India, for the purpose of impressing upon all who should hear and read him his conclusion—that the driving of such an engine could not safely be passed over to inexperienced hands. After enumerating the steps that had been already taken from time to time, not only to extend to her Majesty’s subjects in India the same civil rights and principles which are enjoyed by those subjects at home, but to admit them, as far as was possible, to a share in the management of their own affairs—by the Law Codes, by the institution of Legislative Councils, by municipal Acts, and by widening the access of natives to civil offices—he proceeded to lay stress upon the impossibility of conferring electoral representation upon a population of nearly three hundred millions.

“ Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a Parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation.”

To go so far was impracticable ; nevertheless, certain steps in that direction might be taken. He reminded his audience that in a former speech * he had made no secret of his earnest sympathy with the desire of the educated classes in India to be more largely associated with the administration of their country.

“ To every word which I then spoke I continue to adhere ;

* See *ante*, p. 432.

but surely the sensible man of the country cannot imagine that even the most moderate constitutional changes can be effected in such a system as ours by a stroke of the pen, or without the most anxious deliberations, as well as careful discussions in Parliament. If ever a political organization has existed where caution is necessary in dealing with those problems which affect the adjustment of the administrative machine, and where haste and precipitancy are liable to produce deplorable results, it is that which holds together our complex Indian empire, and the man who stretches forth his hand towards the ark, even with the best intentions, may well dread lest it should shrivel up to the shoulder. But growth and development are the rule of the world's history, and from the proofs I have already given of the way in which English statesmanship has perpetually striven gradually to adapt our methods of government in India to the expanding intelligence and capacities of the educated classes among our Indian subjects, it may be confidently expected that the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the responsible heads of Native society, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, will in due time receive legitimate satisfaction. The more we enlarge the surface of our contact with the educated and intelligent public opinion of India the better ; and although I hold it absolutely necessary, not merely for the maintenance of our own power, but for the good government of the country, and for the general content of all classes, and especially of the people at large, that England should never abdicate her supreme control of public affairs, or delegate to a minority, or to a class, the duty of providing for the welfare of the diversified communities over which she rules, I am not the less convinced that we could, with advantage, draw more largely than we have hitherto done on Native intelligence and Native assistance in the discharge of our duties. I have had ample opportunities of gauging and appreciating to its full extent the measure of good sense, of practical wisdom, and of experience which is possessed by the leading men of India, both among the great nobles on the one hand, and amongst the leisured and professional classes on the other, and I have now submitted officially to the home authorities some personal suggestions in harmony with the foregoing views."

The speech is too long for more quotations than

suffice to show its general tone and purport, but Lord Dufferin's parting words may be given—

“ And now, gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you, not only for your hospitality and for the friendly reception you have given to the mention of Lady Dufferin's name and my own, but for the patience with which you have listened to this somewhat lengthy speech. It is a great regret to me to think that I am looking round for the last time upon so many friendly and familiar faces. In another week I shall have discharged my trust and transferred my great office to the hands of one of England's most capable statesmen, a nobleman in the prime of life, and already distinguished for his sound judgment, his moderation, his wisdom, and the industry with which he applies himself to public affairs. That he will by the intelligence, the impartiality, and the sympathetic character of his rule, gain and maintain the goodwill and the confidence both of Her Majesty's Native and English subjects in India, I have not the slightest doubt, and this conviction to a great deal consoles me for my regret in quitting your service.”

To the active leaders of the association in Bengal, which, under the ambitious title of a National Congress, was demanding for all India a government on the principles of the British constitution, some passages in this speech were inevitably disappointing. The extreme reformers took small comfort from the prospect of concessions that were to be carefully limited. Here they were met by a plain *non possumus* : the British Viceroy shut the Parliamentary door in their faces and lectured them out of an upper window, to the applause of Scotsmen who were probably hardened Radicals in their own country. Although Lord Dufferin was well aware of the effect that was likely to be produced, the declaration was in his judgment necessary ; and he even withheld such consolation as might have been afforded by the disclosure of the reforms that he had himself confidentially recommended.

In the last letter (December 3, 1888) which he wrote to the Secretary of State (Lord Cross), he said—

" I considered that before I left it would be my duty to give some sign of the light in which I regarded such of the Congress demands and proceedings as are extravagant and reprehensible. Accordingly I took the opportunity of a Scotch dinner at Calcutta to make the speech which I am sending to you and to the members of your Council. It will of course make the Home Rule party in India very angry, and expose me to a good deal of obloquy and abuse just as I am leaving the country, the echoes of which may reverberate at home, but I thought it would clear the atmosphere and render Lansdowne's position easier and pleasanter. I might of course have neutralized what was unpopular in my speech by some hint as to the proposals we have submitted to you for liberalizing the Provincial Councils, which is all that the reasonable leaders even of the most advanced section of young India dream of ; but I felt that, though I was merely expressing my own personal opinions in an after-dinner speech, I had no right to breathe a syllable which could in any way, even in a remote degree, commit the government at home or my successor to any policy of the kind, or raise expectations which might, after all, prove impossible of fulfilment."

The Viceroy's caution was justified by the event, for his very liberal proposals were not sanctioned in their entirety. Moreover the speech had been long, and from the extracts telegraphed home to the *Times* it was misunderstood as being too decisive a pronouncement against the reforming politicians of India. Lord Dufferin, to whom this unmerited interpretation of his views, due partly to his self-denying reticence, gave real concern, took much trouble after his arrival in Europe to set public opinion right on this point by explanation and correspondence.

His letter to Lord Cross ended thus—

" Indeed, without self-flattery, I think I can say that I shall have handed over the country to Lansdowne in a satisfactory condition. There is not a cloud on the horizon, and we have succeeded in all our undertakings. Even our financial position Sir David Barbour considers as free from anxiety ; the Princes of India are certainly friendly to us ; and as for our domestic politicians, they will be easily dealt

with, as their machinations are, after all, but a storm in a tea-cup, and will be dissipated by a little wise and sympathetic management. When I consider the many dangers we have run, and the innumerable mischances which might have overtaken us, even without any fault of our own, I am truly grateful to be able to escape out of India under these tolerable conditions and without any very deep scratches on my credit and reputation. As long as I live, if you will permit me to do so, I shall always regard you as one of my best and kindest friends."

In India, where the political barometer falls suddenly, it is never safe to rely upon a clear sky. Yet Lord Dufferin had good reason for believing his successor might expect fair weather, since the two main centres of disturbance, that were menacing when he took up the Governor Generalship, had almost disappeared when he laid it down. In Afghanistan he had continued and consolidated the work of the two preceding Governors General. The north-west boundary had been fixed and secured by a convention with Russia. The Amir Abdurrahman, whose right and might were now undisputed, was rapidly extending and enforcing his dominion over the whole country ; he was becoming the independent sovereign of a larger territory than had ever before been governed by his dynasty. After fifty years of efforts and errors, the policy of establishing friendly relations with the Afghan ruler, and of converting his State into a formidable barrier against aggression or encroachment from Central Asia, was at last prospering. Upper Burmah had been brought well under hand on the south-east, where the transformation of a disorderly kingdom into a quiet province of the empire was making steady progress. Northward and southward the outlook was calm ; nor in fact did this tranquillity suffer any serious interruption during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, to whom Lord Dufferin made over all his dignities and responsibilities on December 10, 1888.

Two days of railway travelling brought the homeward bound party to Bombay, where (as Lord Dufferin

wrote to his son) he and Lady Dufferin " had a splendid reception. It was like the old Canadian days ; I dined at the Byculla Club, and was never so much cheered in my life, which is saying a good deal." In his speech on this last evening he acknowledged cordially " the universal kindness and goodwill which he had received in all parts of India and from every section of its inhabitants." Next day he embarked for Europe, leaving the country (as he said) with many regrets ; having possibly in his mind the feeling that for an Englishman the grand climacteric of honour and power is attained when he enters upon the Governor Generalship of India, and has been passed from the hour when he resigns it.

CHAPTER XV.

ROME.

AT the end of December 1888, after a calm and rapid voyage to Brindisi, Lord and Lady Dufferin reached Naples, and met there Mr. Gladstone, who declined a pressing invitation to Rome on considerations that are explained in the following extract from his letter to Lord Dufferin :—

January 11, 1889.—"Since we had the pleasure of seeing you here the question of going to Rome has lain rather oppressively on my mind: and I find the upshot pretty nearly this, that the great social attraction of your protection and companionship so kindly promised ought to give way to my sense of the difficulties and disadvantages growing out of the contrast between my political opinions in regard to Italy and the policy now actually pursued by its government. . . . I do not like the idea of going into a capital where I might become a focus of communication with the Parliamentary opposition. Undoubtedly I should go there with the intention of silence while there. But even silence might very probably be construed as dissent, and might not avail to stop comment and speculation.

"I am indeed so deeply impressed by the false position which Italy has assumed by meddling with ultramontane affairs that I may find myself driven (elsewhere than in Rome) to speak my mind about it. And at this point I am crossed by a scruple about you. Were I known to have had much intercourse with you at Rome—and my visit would be worth little without it—an uncharitable world might try to make you in some way responsible for my erratic opinions."

By January 2 they were at the Italian capital, where Lord Dufferin, with regretful recollections of the climate and spacious palaces of India, found the weather horribly cold and wet, and the British embassy in a dilapidated condition. Nevertheless the situation close to the Porta Pia, with a pleasant garden under the old walls, was a great advantage ; and a few restorations soon made an excellent house of it. A few hours after his arrival the new ambassador made his call upon the first minister, Signor Crispi, with a promptitude that was commended by all the Italian journals ; and some days later he was received by the King and Queen of Italy. He attended the opening of the Italian parliament by their Majesties ; the Turkish ambassador called to deliver a very friendly message to him from the Sultan ; Signor Crispi was most friendly and straightforward, using the words "*un sant'uomo*" whenever he spoke of Mr. Gladstone ; and the Pope, he heard, "pronounced a public allocution in my favour—I suppose because on various occasions in Canada, at Constantinople, and even in India, I have shown a friendly feeling toward some of his bishops." The *Riforma*, a Roman newspaper, published an article in praise of Lord Dufferin as *questo liberalissimo uomo di stato*, with special thanks to the British government for having sent to Italy an ambassador who was Chancellor of the Dublin University, and otherwise loftily distinguished. He was also claimed as a compatriot, having been born in Florence "while his father, a naval captain, and his mother, *una elegantissima poetessa*, were sojourning, during the first year of their union, in that fair city." In short, the appointment of an ambassador who came straight to Rome from the most important of all official positions outside Great Britain, bringing with him a great reputation, naturally secured to Lord Dufferin a cordial and gratifying reception. Administrative and diplomatic duties differ so materially in kind that the transition may not be always agreeable. The change from a Governor Generalship to an embassy may be felt as a loss of direct power ; the

ambassador carries out instructions instead of giving orders ; his functions are mainly intermediate and representative ; and to a man who has acquired the habit of command, the business of watching affairs and reporting to his superior may seem comparatively inconsiderable. At Constantinople and Cairo, moreover, he had been one of the foremost figures in a crisis of European politics that was absorbing universal attention, in one of those rare situations where the course of history depends on bold and adroit management of great national interests at the centre of action. On the other hand, Lord Dufferin was now liberated, for the first time after ten years, from the burden of incessant responsibility and anxieties ; he found plenty of work in his chancery ; he could study Italian politics and the Italian language ; he was returning to the refinements and pleasures of European society ; and at Rome there was everything that could gratify his literary and artistic tastes, or amuse his leisure. " I am quite certain " (he wrote to Lord Lytton) " that I shall be as happy as the day is long in this interesting centre of the old and the new Cosmos." After a few days at the embassy, Lady Dufferin and her two daughters departed for England. Lord Dufferin could not take leave while the Italian parliament was sitting ; but one of his sons came from England to be with him.

His first experience of Rome can hardly have been exhilarating. " The weather here is awful ; I have neither had time to look into the shop windows, nor to see a picture or a sight of any description, my whole day being spent inside a brougham leaving cards, a most vain and useless employment"—and none the more agreeable by reason of a violent cold which had sent him to bed for such time as he could spare from much correspondence, many interviews, and lessons in Italian. Nevertheless his letters to Lady Dufferin show that his social activity was unabated.

January 26, 1889.—" You may well imagine how pleased

I have been at getting your telegram announcing that the Queen had given you the Victoria and Albert. You have indeed come to great honour with your orders.

"We had a very pleasant dinner at the Kennedys. It was quite small, for we had arranged afterwards to go off in a body to see Sarah Bernhardt. The most interesting person was Madame Minghetti, widow of the late Minister. No longer young, though at one time she must have been divinely lovely, she is really clever and gay and pleasant—quite the most agreeable person I have met. We did not get off till about ten, so that the performance had begun. I think I should have liked it, if only I could have heard, but I am beginning to be mortally afraid I am getting deaf, for everybody else heard, but I could not hear a word; indeed I heard them praising the actors for speaking so distinctly. If I find a good aurist at Rome I shall have my ears looked at.

"I dined at home last night, and went again to the Play, but though I had a very good stall I did not hear any better. During the *entr'acte* I went about from box to box like a gay young fop paying my respects to the ladies with whom I have become acquainted."

January 27.—"I have been kept so late by Crispi tonight that I have only time for a line. This is all the more provoking as I have two scenes to describe to you which I think would be interesting. One is a *Bal poudré*, and the other a luncheon at the Laval Seminary where I hobnobbed with a couple of Cardinals and several archbishops. First of all we went to hear the King open Parliament—a most interesting proceeding performed in a modern rotunda—the diplomatic ~~box~~ being so placed that one can neither hear nor see anything. We then arranged to breakfast with the Turkish ambassador, after which there was a concert for which the smart ladies of Rome had made me take any number of tickets. But I must hark back to my luncheon at the Laval College. It was really very pleasant. It was given in a big hall, and I sat between two Cardinals—one the brother of that Vanutelli that we knew at Constantinople, and the other the chief of the Propaganda. They were both very pleasant, particularly the latter, who talked a good deal about Ireland, and the Pope's action in regard to boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. He was very sound upon both, and of course I took care to

confirm him in his correct appreciation of the situation ; but you had better not mention this, as it would not do for me to be supposed to be earwigging the Pope.

" The lunch was sumptuous with every kind of wine, and they did full justice to it. There were several archbishops and bishops present, some of them dressed like monks, though their grey garments were composed of very fine silk instead of coarse cloth. When I asked why one of the Cardinals was not in red like his brothers I was told that if they belonged to a conventual Order they kept their dresses.

" As for the ball it was a very dull affair. A large square room in the Barberini Palace badly lit and extremely stuffy, with a brown holland sheet spread over the carpet to dance upon. All the women were in powder, and the men in red coats and breeches."

February 10.—" I have had a very nice letter from Mr. Gladstone. He has read my (Calcutta) speech, and he says he thinks it is a very able and comprehensive statement, and adds : ' While your opponents as to their position require very little knocking down, I do not think any one who reads you equitably can question the sympathetic spirit in which you treat India and her people. I rejoice that the expression of opinion, even of native opinion, should be free, and it is no small testimony in England's favour that this freedom, now enjoyed so long, has not been injurious.' "

A short visit to England to consult an aurist and for urgent private business was indispensable, and so on February 16 he left Rome for Florence and Milan, stopping a day at each place. On the evening of the 19th he was welcomed home by Lady Dufferin and a number of friends, who met him on the platform of a London railway station. During the nine days that he passed in England he took his seat as Marquis of Dufferin and Ava in the House of Lords, his supporters being Lord Salisbury and Lord Ripon ; he passed a Sunday, with his wife and daughter, at Windsor Castle, where the Queen was " very gracious " ; discussed Italian and Indian questions with the Secretaries of State, dined at Grillion's Club, attended a Drawing-Room, saw numerous

friends and kinsfolk, consulted physicians, and ended this brief, hurried, and busy visit—a mere glance at England after four years' absence—by again crossing the Channel, through a rough sea and a snowstorm, on his return journey. At Paris he had a very interesting conversation with Lord Randolph Churchill, who was most cordial, and a long walk and talk with Lord Lytton, the British ambassador; “was dreadfully tempted to stay” for an attractive play, but left on the evening of the second day, though in no fit condition for rapid travel; arriving at Rome ill and exhausted.

The kingdom of Italy was at this time a makeweight in the balance, which was still unsteady, of the larger European powers. Prince Bismarck was haunted by apprehensions of a combination between France and Russia; and Italy had been drawn by Bismarck into the triple alliance that he had formed to safeguard Germany against this eventuality. The chief minister, Signor Crispi, by spending vast sums on the Italian army, had increased his stake in the game of the great Chancellor, not without expectations of winning something for his own country if it succeeded. The Italians had been forestalled in the occupation of Tunis by the French, who, having lost their footing in Egypt, were determined to suffer no further interference with their predominance on the littoral of North Africa. The effect of disappointment over Tunis was to divert Italian enterprise to the coast of the Red Sea, where Assab Bay had been purchased from a Genoese company in 1881. A more important point, Massowah Bay, was taken in 1885; but the abandonment of Khartoum by the English, after Gordon's death, left Italy alone and unsupported in those regions, exposed to the hostility of the Abyssinians; while France, Russia, and Turkey were all more or less concerned in thwarting the Italian design of acquiring a strong position in East Africa.

Nevertheless Signor Crispi, though he had originally spoken against the occupation of Massowah, had now committed himself to the policy of expansion in East

Africa, relying mainly on the support of Germany to counteract European opposition, and hoping, in the event of war, not only to keep his footing on the Red Sea shore, but also to pick up valuable windfalls nearer home. If hostilities were to come at all, the burden of military expenditure made it very desirable for Italy that they should come soon ; but Prince Bismarck was satisfied, for the moment, with having detached Italy from France ; and he found Signor Crispi too eager, for his purposes, in forcing the game by devices that irritated the French.

In the beginning of 1889 the war of tariffs that followed the renunciation by Italy of her commercial treaty with France, coupled with the severe taxation imposed to meet extravagant military expenditure, had seriously embarrassed the Italian government. The financial difficulties of the government were thus a direct consequence of the treaty of defensive alliance into which Italy had entered with Germany and Austria as her security against French aggression. Between the tariff war, from which Italian commerce suffered immense loss, and the cost of strengthening the Italian army and of fortifying the frontiers, the fiscal strain was producing widespread popular discontent ; while the new policy of expansion in Africa was encountering considerable opposition, and Crispi was accused of deliberately fomenting a quarrel with France. Suspicion and jealousy between the two nations had gone so far, in 1888, as to render credible the rumour of a *coup de main* to be attempted on Spezzia by the French fleet, which created a temporary panic among the Italians.

Signor Crispi, the prime minister, was at this time by far the most powerful man in the political arena. Brusque, imperious, and peremptory, he had many enemies and few friends ; though by the force and self-reliance of his character he was master of the Italian Chamber, where the opposition had no leader who could stand up against him. He was not the only prominent statesman of that time who had begun public life as a

conspirator; for he belonged to the generation who raised the standard of revolt against Austrian despotism in Hungary and Italy in the tumultuous years of 1848-49, when the attempts to shake off a foreign yoke failed utterly, and the Liberators who escaped death or prison became outlaws and proscribed refugees. Two other leading rebels, both of whom had been sentenced to death for high treason, Herr von Haymerle and Count Andrassy,* became successively Austro-Hungarian prime ministers in after years when the tide had turned; and Crispi's vicissitudes of fortune had been similar. In 1849 he was a proclaimed outlaw, but after long exile he returned with Garibaldi in 1860; and when Sicily and Naples were annexed to the Piedmontese crown he became a member of the Parliament at Turin. The revolutionary leader of former days was now an autocratic minister of the Italian kingdom, closely associated in politics with Bismarck and the military monarchies at Vienna and Berlin, and confederated with them for the preservation of order in Europe. To Lord Dufferin, with his keen appreciation of strong and singular characters, the study of such a personage must have been most interesting; but at the time when he took charge of the Roman embassy Crispi's popularity was on the wane. Lord Dufferin found that the minister's arbitrary methods and masterful behaviour were exhausting the patience of all parties, while he lacked the temper and intellectual versatility which enable a great Parliamentary leader to prevail or persuade in debate.

"Public sentiment in Italy" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is still favourable to the Triple Alliance, for the nation is proud of its connexion, apparently on equal terms, with the two great monarchies of Central Europe, and pleased at taking part with the rest of the world in colonial adventures. Yet people are beginning to think that the

* Von Haymerle was on his way to execution when he was rescued by a friend. [See Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's "Notes from a Diary, 1881-86," Vol. I.] Count Andrassy was sentenced to death *en contumace*, having escaped to England.

Minister has been too subservient in accepting the standard of military and naval strength imposed upon him by Bismarck, and has rendered himself unnecessarily odious to France. Upon this latter point Crispi seems willing to yield a little, and is endeavouring to lessen the acerbity of the war of tariffs between the two governments. . . . In the mean time the south of Italy has no market for its wines, and Lombardy has to seek a very inferior market for its raw silk in Germany, while many other branches of productive industry are suffering in an analogous degree."

The foregoing sketch of the state and tendency of Italian politics when Lord Dufferin took charge of his office at Rome has been thought necessary for explaining the allusions to public affairs in his correspondence. His position as British ambassador kept him outside the grand political combinations and plans; though England was understood to be at least friendly toward the triple alliance. At one moment indeed the volcanic forces of that menacing league seemed likely to become active; for Russia had concentrated a great army on the Austrian frontier, and in April (1889) Crispi declared that in spite of every effort to prevent it he believed war to be inevitably approaching. His enemies, as has been said, suspected him vehemently of provoking it. But the immediate business that occupied Lord Dufferin diplomatically was the determination between Italy and England of their respective possessions and spheres of influence in East Africa, on which question he negotiated, in the course of time, an amicable settlement with the Italian government. The current business of the embassy employed most of his forenoons.

He wrote to his daughter—

"I am still much overworked though I cannot pretend that my cares are of a very serious nature. I begin at 7 or 8 a.m., as the case may be, and spend sometimes more than an hour over my Italian vocabulary."

Military reviews, public funerals, official visits, the sittings to Mr. Boehm for his statue, took up much of

the day, and in the evenings he went freely into Roman society.

To Lord Arthur Russell he wrote—

April 10, 1889.—"The story of the present Pope having been presented to the Queen as you relate it is perfectly true. I asked Stonor, the new Archbishop of Trebizond, about it the other day, and he says that the Pope has often mentioned the circumstance to him. I suppose he is the only Pope who has ever been to a British drawing-room. Things here politically are very quiet. The exposition of their financial embarrassments as well as the general distress produced by over-taxation throughout the country, have suddenly sobered the Italians and brought Crispi himself to his senses; but now, in the middle of it all, the government is beset by a new temptation. Abyssinia is masterless,* and therefore a favourable opportunity has occurred for the extension of Italian jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of Massowah. Before coming to a decision, however, they are waiting for reports from their general, Baldissera; but I do not think they will risk any very large adventure. They will probably content themselves with laying hold of the uplands immediately to the west of Massowah, and coming to a good understanding with whoever gains the upper hand in Abyssinia itself."

In May Lord Dufferin went to England on leave for six months, the longest holiday that he had taken for many years past. At Paris, where he arrived in the early morning, he "slept for a couple of hours, then went to the pictures in the Paris Salon," and to a play in the evening; art and the drama being everywhere and always irresistibly attractive to him. From Paris he wrote to his daughter—

"It was very nice of you writing to me to Paris—I like getting your letters so. Indeed I am altogether a poor creature without my ladies, and I do not even care to be a Parisian bachelor on the spree. I enjoyed the big exhibition † to-day very much, or rather the pictures. They

* In March the Emperor Johannes had been defeated and slain by the Dervishes at the battle of Metemmeh.

† Paris International Exhibition.

are too magnificent. Miles and miles of them, and all of them good—many of them famous ones of which one has heard, or of which one has seen the engravings.”

On the 25th he reached London, evidently fatigued and out of health, for during the next three days he stayed indoors, preparing body and mind for the Lord Mayor’s banquet on the 29th. He was presented in the morning with the Freedom of the City; and in the evening he made his speech at the dinner, “though I did not feel at all up to it, being very unwell.”

For the biography of an eminent man his speeches are among the most valuable illustrations of his public life and personal character. Throughout these volumes, accordingly, large extracts have been made from the elaborate orations in which Lord Dufferin on different occasions reviewed his own career, gathered up the fruit of his experiences, and described, with spirit and sincerity, the impressions he had brought home from work and travel in the outlying parts of the British empire. The keynote of his speech at the Mansion House is to be found in his generous desire to acknowledge and affirm the services that had been rendered to him, in Canada and especially in India, by his colleagues and subordinates.

“Whatever misgivings” (he said) “I may entertain as to my personal right to have my name inscribed on your city’s roll of fame, I draw a special encouragement from the fact that, having been called upon to act in three distinct capacities—as a colonial governor, as a diplomatic representative, and as an Indian ruler—in granting me these honours you are honouring the Services with whom I have been connected, to whom I owe so much, and whose assistance has enabled me to gain your approbation. During the period of my tenure of office in Canada—a country I shall never cease to regard with gratitude and affection—the affairs of the Dominion were conducted, as you are aware, through the instrumentality of responsible ministers; and, if my administration was successful, it is due to the patriotism, the wisdom, and the statesmanship of those eminent men—one of whom, Sir Charles Tupper, I am happy to see here to-night—to whom the Parliament of Canada had

confided the interests of the country. Again, in diplomacy, it is only those who are the ostensible heads of missions who can be fully conscious of the degree to which they are indebted for their success to the zeal, acumen, and tact of the members of the corps who are associated with them in the discharge of their delicate duties. But if this is the case in diplomacy and in colonial government, it is even more strikingly exhibited in the administration of Indian affairs. In common parlance, and in accordance with the language of ancient tradition, every act of the Indian government, and every characteristic of its policy, is regarded as the outcome and the product of the Viceroy's personal initiative and will. And this undoubtedly is as it should be ; for he, and he alone, is responsible for whatever is done in India. The minutest details of business come within his purview ; every executive act requires his assent ; it is he who finally pronounces on the frequently divergent views of the departments and between the competing suggestions of his colleagues, while he holds in reserve the absolute right of overruling his Council. Consequently, whatever may have been the genesis of this or that line of action, it is the Viceroy, and the Viceroy alone, who is properly held answerable by his countrymen, whether things go well or whether they go ill ; nor, in the event of their going ill, have I ever heard of the principle being disputed. But, for all that, it will be readily understood that no Viceroy, however arbitrary or self-reliant, however determined to impress his personal volition on the conduct of affairs, would be able to direct the movements of so vast and complicated a machine as that which regulates the destinies of 300,000,000 of our fellow-subjects in India, unless enlightened, aided, and advised by the most remarkable body of men that have ever laboured for the good of their country in any part of the world—I mean the Civil Service of the Crown in India. Indeed, I may say once for all, without disparagement to the accepted standard of public industry in England, that I did not know what hard work really meant until I witnessed the unremitting and almost inconceivable severity of the grind to which our Indian civil servants, and I will add our military employés, so zealously devote themselves. If therefore, gentlemen, during the past four years things have on the whole gone well in India, the chief credit is due to a number of able and disinterested personages, who have been content to

labour in what, from the force of circumstances, are spheres and positions which, for the most part, escape the attention of the British public, indifferent to their own fame, despising the snares of notoriety, provided only that the honour and the moral and material interests of the British empire shall extend and flourish."

Then followed a list of those to whom Lord Dufferin held himself particularly indebted for their co-operation ; and after rapidly touching upon the main incidents of his Viceregal government, he delivered his general view of the situation as he had left it in India.

"In fact I have returned from India with a far deeper impression of the strength of our position, and of the solid character of our dominion, whether in relation to internal or external influences, than ever I had before. Instead of diminishing, I believe that the moral ascendancy exercised by Englishmen in the East is becoming more and more powerful, whilst the inventions of modern science, as exhibited in the extension of our railways, the acceleration of all means of communication, the shortening of the distances between London and Bombay and Australia and Calcutta, the improvement in artillery and arms of precision, the expansion of our trade and commerce with our Indian empire, and the general infusion of English civilization, are extending and deepening the impression. Nor have we less reason, I think, to congratulate ourselves on the general condition of affairs which prevails along the extensive frontiers of our Eastern empire. On quitting Bombay I was able with perfect accuracy to say that I left India without a cloud on the horizon, though I did not say that there might not be many a one below it. In establishing and extending our Indian possessions, as from generation after generation we have been compelled to do, we have given many hostages to fortune, but even now, after six months have passed since I uttered the auspicious, nothing has occurred in any degree to blot or obscure the prospect."

The prevailing note of his speech recurred with emphasis in the peroration.

"In again thanking you for the honour you have done

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me, perhaps I may be permitted in Lady Dufferin's name to convey to you her heartfelt thanks for the kind and sympathetic manner in which you have alluded to her work in India, and which I, as an impartial witness, say cannot be overrated. In saying that I am deeply grateful for these proofs of your favour, I am only expressing what I believe to be the dominant sentiment which inspires all those who, like myself, are called upon to serve our Queen and country outside of Great Britain. Removed as we are from the turmoil of party politics and the acerbities of party controversy, our thoughts and faculties are naturally more directed to the contemplation of the empire as a whole, and to devoting ourselves to its consolidated interests. To our fond imagination, in whatever distant lands we may be serving, amid all our troubles and anxieties, England rises to our view, as she did to the men of Cressy, like a living presence, a sceptred isle amid inviolate seas, a dear and honoured mistress, the mother of a race which it may truly be said has done as much as any other for the general moral and material happiness of mankind, and which has done more than any other to spread abroad the benefits of ordered liberty and constitutional government, which has learnt the secret of gradually interweaving the new material of progress into the outworn tissues of ancient civilizations, and of reconciling every diversity of barbarous tribe to the discipline of a properly regulated existence; whose beneficent and peaceful commercial flag illumines every sea, and pavilions every shore, whose language is already destined ere the close of this century, to be spoken by a greater number of millions than any other tongue, and the chief necessity for whose prosperity and welfare is the continuance of universal peace, and the spread of amity and good-will among the nations."

The exertion of speaking so long prostrated him. In the morning he could not leave his bed; and though on the next evening he "forced himself out to attend a dinner given by the East India United Service Club," he was laid up with severe gastric fever for more than a fortnight afterwards.

Sir Courtenay Boyle wrote to him during his convalescence—

"Some years ago in the north of Ireland a poor private

secretary with a broken finger got an ambassador to write out his telegrams for him. The finger is mended, but the kindness of the ambassador is not forgotten.

"If there is any possible way in which the mended finger can show its gratitude by doing any work for the ambassador during his stay in England, its owner hopes you will let him know."

He gradually recovered strength in the air by the sea at Eastbourne, until by the end of June he could travel to Cowes, where he could indulge his nautical passion, cruising all day alone in his new little yacht the *Lady Hermione* about the Solent and Portsmouth harbour. Returning to London he presided at the Pythic Club dinner, and conversed with the Shah of Persia in his own language at a State ball.

"The great social excitement" (he writes) "has been the Shah's visit. He was entertained at the Empire Theatre in a manner suited to his tastes—a great number of scantily draped ladies, some tumblers, a juggler, and the whistling woman. All the Duchesses and Countesses came in their diamonds, and I never saw such an array of flashing tiaras, one bigger than the other. We occupied a stage box, and consequently had a splendid view of the house. Then I went down to Ashridge, where His Persian Majesty spent the night. He harangued me for twenty minutes on the Hashtadan question; but I told him that, having severed my connexion with India, I had nothing further to say on the matter."

After floating round in the whirlpool of society for ten days he found rest again for a week in his yacht on the quieter waters of the sea. On his return to London he wrote to the Queen—

"Lord Dufferin only came up from the seaside yesterday, where he had been kept by the doctors; and he arrived home to learn that when his back was turned his eldest daughter, Helen, had engaged herself to be married. Lady Dufferin will have already acquainted your Majesty with this fact. Lord Dufferin has heard a very good account

of the young man, but, under Lord Rosebery's influence, he is afraid he has become a Home Ruler, though probably not a very serious one."

His pleasure at the engagement of Lady Helen Blackwood to Mr. Ronald Munro Ferguson, and the business connected with it, were his chief pre-occupations during the ensuing six weeks. To his daughter he wrote early in August—

"A thousand thanks for your letter of the 28th of July. Under the circumstances, it is very good of you to have written to me at all or to have remembered that there was such a thing as a father in the world. My dear child, I cannot tell you how full my thoughts are of you. Indeed you are never absent from my mind either day or night. For many a year past I have been preoccupied with anxieties as to your future destiny, and now that it is settled, I do not know whether to be more pleased or sorry. Of course I cannot help being sorry at losing one who has been so much to me, such a companion, and such a joy in the house; but on the other hand I have the satisfaction of knowing that she has chosen wisely and well, and that, apart from those accidents to which all human affairs are subject, she has every prospect of a happy and contented life."

The family went over to Ireland for the marriage. Lord Dufferin wrote to his eldest son, then in India—

"Here I am at Clondeboyne. I came round by Dublin which is the least fatiguing way as it enables one to have a night in a comfortable bed, instead of on board a noisy steamer. I left Dublin at half-past seven, and got to Belfast at half-past ten, where I had appointed Ferguson to meet me. Him I bore triumphantly in my right hand to the Helen's Bay station, as the Clondeboyne station has now been rechristened. We found Nelly waiting to receive us, and besides her there was a great crowd of tenants and other people. The former accompanied me on horseback up to Clondeboyne, and then presented me with an address which was very nice and cordial. I made the best return I could in the shape of whisky, but I have not yet heard how many of them got home safe.

"Yesterday was dull and rainy, but to-day is beautiful, and I am going to take a sail on the Lake. The place looks really lovely and a good many of the younger trees have grown immensely. I do not see much difference in the older ones.

"It is so nice having all the children here. It is the first time we have been at Clandeboye together since they have grown up. You are the only missing one, but I often think of you, and I am sure so do we all."

The wedding, which took place on August 31, was duly reported by Lord Dufferin to the Queen—

"The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava thinks perhaps your Majesty may be glad to learn that the marriage of his daughter Helen was celebrated on Saturday under very pleasant auspices. The day was exceptionally beautiful, which was most fortunate, considering how bad it had hitherto been. Almost all Ulster was present. Indeed Lord Dufferin has been very much gratified by the kind reception he has met with at the hands of all his friends and neighbours in the north; and what is even more satisfactory, the tenantry on his estate gave him an exceptionally warm welcome, and have also made very handsome presents to the bride."

On September 19th, after a great banquet given in his honour in the Ulster Hall by the inhabitants of Belfast and the northern counties, he wrote to his daughter—

"The dinner went off admirably and was a most brilliant affair. The hall was crammed with my hosts, and the gallery was laden, or rather overladen, with beautiful ladies; but the prettiest thing of all was a broad red band which draped the gallery all round, and on which, in large white characters, were displayed all the official stages of my career, beginning with Vienna in 1855—a very pretty compliment. I have not been well, and I woke with a terrible headache on the day of the dinner—which stuck to me the whole day. However, I got through my speech all right though there was very little in it. . . . Your mother was greeted in an enthusiastic and very genuine manner."

He also wrote (to Sir Alfred Lyall)—

“My speech was very thin, for I felt bound to abstain from touching on any Indian question of real interest, and I was also debarred from dealing with those of any very general political importance.”

On October 1st Lord and Lady Dufferin set off for a few days' visit to their newly married daughter in Scotland. Three weeks later he was again in London, paid a flying visit to Portsmouth to examine improvements in his little yacht [“You cannot imagine how perfect she now is with the new inventions”], returned to Dublin, and on the 26th he presided at the Convocation of the Royal University of Ireland. “I read my speech, as I did not like to trust myself to an impromptu performance on so august an occasion.”

They travelled back to London, where Lord Dufferin was entertained at a great dinner by the Chamber of Commerce, to welcome him on his return from India. “It was a very fine banquet, with good food, good music, and good company. My speech turned out rather above the average and has been kindly referred to by all the newspapers.”

Lord and Lady Dufferin then started for Italy; and from Rome, where he heard of his election to the Rectorship of St. Andrews University, Lord Dufferin wrote to the Principal—

December 7, 1889.—“I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 3rd, and to assure you that I have been extremely gratified at having been elected Rector of the University of St. Andrews. I am gratified on many accounts, in the first place because the election to such a post is in itself a signal honour of which any one might be proud; in the next because it revives the ancient connexion of my family with Fife; and, in the third, because it makes me feel less separated from my daughter in her new home than otherwise would have been the case. I am also pleased to have been thus illuminated by the reflected popularity of my son-in-law. . . . Of course I will

really do my best to assist the University in any way in my power, and I will certainly contrive when I take my next holiday to appear before my constituents in the customary manner. I should also, if you approve, desire to present to the students a gold medal as an annual prize during the continuance of my office, to be competed for under whatever conditions the authorities of the University might desire. I would also give both silver and bronze medals for other less learned competitions if it were thought advisable. I used to do this a good deal both in Canada and in India, and I found that the medals were very much appreciated."

Lord Dufferin found the political situation at Rome very little altered, with a tendency to improve; for although a Russian army still threatened the Austrian frontier, Lord Dufferin's conversations with the representatives in Italy of the Triple Alliance gave him reasons for concluding that the peace of Europe was not likely, for the time, to be disturbed. The Germans were quite willing, as a foreign envoy remarked, that Italy should make love to England, by way of diverting her from a liaison with France. Nevertheless the state of affairs in the Balkan peninsula, where the views and designs of Russia by no means coincided with the policy of other powers, including England, that had been laid down by the Berlin Treaty, was not altogether reassuring; and Crispi was generally supposed to be quite capable of provoking a rupture with France on a signal from the formidable arbiter of peace and war at Berlin. This condition of suspense and uncertainty imposed a heavy strain upon the Italian treasury; which was aggravated by the expenditure of large sums on adventurous projects in East Africa, where the government had now embarked upon the policy of territorial acquisitions that led three years later to disastrous results. Upon the King's speech at the opening of the Italian Parliament, Lord Dufferin wrote—

November 28, 1889.—"The allusion to Abyssinia, however, was less warmly received than other parts of the

discourse, and there is no doubt that many difficulties are still in store for the Italians in that quarter. The Dervishes seem to be pressing on Menelik's frontiers with great severity, and Ras al Ula is not yet disposed of. I should not be surprised if some fine day Crispi would find himself obliged to send a big force—five and twenty thousand men—to the plateau he has now occupied, and to keep them there. On the other hand, if Menelik gets the better of all his enemies, he may turn out to be less docile than is expected. Nor, should I imagine, will there ever be a great trade along the coasts to which the Italians have so eagerly aspired."

In the mean time, "Crispi is more completely master of Italy than ever, and not a murmur of opposition is heard against him, though there is great discontent at the heavy taxation, and much lamentation over the deficit. No one, however, appears to suggest either that Africa should be abandoned or that Italy should drop out of the Triple Alliance and its obligations."

To Lord Salisbury—

January 9, 1890.—"The Empress Frederick has come and gone. I think she was a good deal upset on seeing the King and Queen and Rome again, and told me she could not sleep for thinking. But she had already begun to be more cheerful and to enjoy the change and the many interests afforded by the place, when the news of the Empress Augusta's illness and subsequent death, cut short her holiday and its pleasant distractions."

To Lord Knutsford—

February 26, 1890.—"We are very prosperous and very quiet here, and if Crispi were not a little too enterprising on the shores of the Red Sea, if his Exchequer were a good deal fuller, and if his Albanian blood did not tempt him to tackle the Turk, we should have every reason to be satisfied with him, for nothing could be kinder or more friendly than he is toward us, showing his anxiety to please us on every possible occasion."

Just at this time Prince Bismarck resigned the Chancellorship of the German empire, and disappeared from

the political arena. This was undoubtedly, as Lord Dufferin noted, a heavy blow to Crispi, which stimulated the opposition in the Italian Parliament to redouble their attacks upon his policy.

“In Italy, as elsewhere, the prestige of Bismarck was prodigious, and the favour which he took great pains to lavish on Crispi was very pleasant to the Italians. Now, however, that the great man has disappeared, the discontent which has all along been brewing in reference to the financial situation, as well as the miserable straits to which not only the city of Rome but many other communities have been reduced through the indebtedness of their municipalities, the failure of a number of banks, and similar disasters, are encouraging Crispi's enemies to try if they cannot upset him.”

The port of Massowah on the coast of the Red Sea had been occupied some years previously by Italy with the approbation of England ; but in a first attempt to annex country further inland the Italian troops had been worsted by the Abyssinians. To repair their military reputation they were now compelled to move forward, and the military advisers of the Italian government were anxious to take up ground as far inland as Kassala on the Blue Nile, the headquarters of the hostile Dervishes. But as it by no means suited England that another European power should take up a position that might command the trade on the upper waters of the Nile and otherwise affect British interests in Egypt, Lord Dufferin was instructed to interpose with some amicable vigour, and Signor Crispi, after some diplomatic skirmishing, formally disclaimed any designs upon Kassala. On the other hand, the Dervishes at that place were occasionally harassing the Italian outposts ; and since we had no power to restrain them, we could hardly object to operations undertaken in self-defence. The British ambassador, who had much longer experience than the Italian minister of similar situations, warned him that he would find much difficulty in drawing a

line which his frontier officers would not prove themselves obliged to overstep. Lord Dufferin wrote to the Foreign Office—

March 9, 1890.—"There is no doubt that the Italians are fully aware that in order to make Massowah pay it will be necessary for them to open up communications with Kassala, and to tap the upper Nile and Soudan ; and whatever Crispi may now say or mean—and at present I think he means what he says—it is evident that Italian and Anglo-Egyptian interests may come hereafter into collision."

And in fact Lord Dufferin's anticipation * that Italy would gradually be drawn into extensive military operations by these East African adventures, and that Menelik would turn on the intruders whenever he had set his own house in order, was destined to be precisely fulfilled. In 1893 Menelik, having crushed all his enemies, threw off the Italian protectorate, and in the war that broke out three years later he routed with great slaughter the Italian army at Adowa. Kassala, which the Italians had seized in 1893, was finally ceded in 1898 to the English, whose signal success where the Italians had failed may be ascribed to their possession of a secure basis of operations in Egypt.

In March 1890 Mr. Balfour introduced a Bill for enabling Irish tenants to purchase their holdings by loans from the State, which were to be gradually discharged by annuities. Lord Dufferin followed with close attention the passage of this Bill through its several parliamentary stages. He had consistently advocated some measure of the kind ; believing that it would provide the landlords with their sole chance of saving a part of their goods out of the total shipwreck from which he saw no other prospect of escaping eventually ; and he wrote that he "thoroughly supported Lord Salisbury's policy in reference to Land Purchase." The subjoined extracts from his letters are given in illustration of his views.

* See p. 493, *ante*.

To the editor of the *Northern Whig*—

May 3, 1890.—“I wonder whether you happen to have read the evidence I gave before the Bessborough Commission? I have not got a copy of the Report of the Commission with me, and consequently I do not remember the exact terms in which I submitted a plan for the converting of a considerable proportion of the tenantry of Ireland into peasant proprietors; but if I mistake not they foreshadowed both the principle contained in Mr. Balfour's Bill and in Mr. Parnell's subsequent alternative plan. If you find this is the case, it might perhaps be of some assistance to the government if it came to be known that I had drawn up suggestions on the same lines. As an ambassador I cannot take any part in the present controversy, but if you were to have these ideas noted in your paper and in some of the papers in England with which you are in communication, it might prove useful.”

June 6, 1890.—“Many thanks for your great kindness in sending me the copies of the *Northern Whig* with the extracts from my evidence before the Bessborough Commission. I was very much interested in reading it again, for so many things have happened since then that I had forgotten its exact import. It is certainly curious the way in which the germ both of the present Purchase Bill, Parnell's suggestion, and Chamberlain's proposals are to be found in it. In the autumn of 1879, before the Land Bill of 1880 was incubated, I spent four hours with Chamberlain and Dilke trying to persuade them to take up the purchase scheme, and I cannot help thinking that it was on the representations I then made that Chamberlain has founded his present ideas.”

To Sir William Gregory—

August 9, 1890.—“To return to your letter and your most interesting and wise remarks upon the state of Ireland. I entirely agree with everything you say about the proposed Land Bill. It will ruin hundreds and hundreds of people, and it will confiscate nearly half our income, but, on the whole, I think we shall be wise to accept it; in the first place because if we do not we stand a good chance of losing everything; and in the next—and this is

a better reason—it certainly will do a great deal towards paralyzing the Home Rule agitation. In fact if the operation could be extensively carried into effect in the north of Ireland, Home Rule would at once become a physical impossibility. As long as the Protestant farmers are mere tenants, there will always be a great danger that the bribe of the land will prove too much both for their patriotism and their honesty ; but once they become proprietors they will fight to the death against separation from England—a contest in which of course the whole wealth and education of Belfast and the neighbouring manufacturing towns would join.

“Hartington was staying with me this winter, and the foregoing is pretty much the language I held to him. Of course to us in the north the sacrifice of so large an amount of rent will appear a more terrible calamity than to the landlords in the south ; for, never having had any serious difficulty with our tenants, and never having been brought into collision with anything approaching to a Land League, the truth of half a loaf being better than no bread is not brought home so vividly to our imaginations as to those who occupy a more precarious position.

“My own belief is that Gladstone never had the slightest conception of what would prove the scope and effect of his legislation, and that he imagined it would only touch a few exceptional cases of extraordinary hardship and extreme rack-renting ; otherwise I do not think he would have lent himself to a measure which is bound to end in the ruin and spoliation of the landed gentry of Ireland. It almost makes one smile to think that the outcome of England's conscientious endeavours to redress the wrongs of Ireland should be a new, a more extensive, and more complete act of confiscation than anything recorded in her history.”

To Lord Salisbury—

January 21, 1891.—“Of course I have been watching with great interest all this Irish business, and I rejoice in the thought that your Land Bill has been launched under such auspicious conditions. We Ulster landlords will undoubtedly lose a great deal of income by selling ; but for my part I shall consider it a duty to take advantage of the Act, if only I can get anything like a decent price, for I am convinced that if once the Presbyterian farmers

of the north became the owners of their farms, Home Rule would become a physical impossibility. On the other hand, as long as they remain rentpayers, Parnell & Co. will retain in their hands a tremendous bribe. Indeed it is a marvel to me that up till now the farmers in Ulster should have so steadily refused it."

With the course of European politics running smoothly for the representative of a favoured nation ; welcomed by a pleasant and easy society, in a city where his strong artistic and antiquarian tastes could be amply satisfied, Lord Dufferin was now enjoying life at Rome.

"The days fly past only too quickly, and it seems to me as if I was always going to church, for it is only the Sundays that mark the flight of time ; but I am very happy and have a feeling of rest in thinking that I cannot be called on to make a speech or to take a journey, or otherwise to be stirred up with a long pole."

"We are having beautiful weather and I am delighted beyond measure with my post, especially now that I have my wife and children with me. I have taken to hunting again. I have not ridden to hounds for thirty years until the other day, but it is a great resource at this time of the year, and I have at last got a very good horse and a capital fencer."

To Lady Helen Munro Ferguson—

March 10, 1890.—"At last we have had something like a run, the first I have seen. It was almost like England, that is to say the fox and hounds went away straight, and one had to jump the staccionatas or be left behind. As a consequence there were only five of us up at the first check, and one of the post-and-rails was a very high one, with a drop on the other side ; but I was determined to do my duty to my Queen and country, and my horse cleared it beautifully, though it stopped most of the field. This achievement has been the talk of the town, for they make a great deal of very little here. But the person who was most pleased was the huntsman. The master, however, greatly startled me by the way he turned a compliment. He said—'You were an example to all of them ; there were

dozens and dozens of young men behind you.' As I always feel five and twenty when I am on horseback, to hear the 'young men' placed in one category and myself in another, was an unexpected blow, and I have not yet quite got over it."

In May Lord and Lady Dufferin made a tour to Florence, Siena, Assisi; and after his return Lord Dufferin wrote to his daughter—

June 2, 1890.—"We are back again at Rome after the most delightful honeymoon trip I have had for many a long year. During the whole of the time I was away I did not put pen to paper, see a despatch, or give a thought to business, your mother even paying the hotel bills, drawing the cheques, and settling the railway journeys. Alas! why cannot life continue in this Boccaccian fashion! As a consequence, we have both returned fat, lovely, and with forty representing our united ages.

"Florence was our first point, and here our journey became rather a pilgrimage than a tour, for my chief pre-occupation was visiting the places where my mother spent the first eighteen months after her marriage. As I think I told you, my grandfather disapproved of my father's engagement, and consequently, to diminish the unpleasantness, he fled abroad with his bride, and came straight to Florence. A part of the time my mother kept a journal, and I have also some letters written to her mother and sisters at the same period. Then I have also heard her talk of these times.

"My first endeavour on reaching Florence was to find the actual house in which I was born. I had visited it once with my mother some five and thirty years ago, but I had forgotten the number. Luckily in the records of a circulating library there was an entry in my father's handwriting of a subscription for three months with the address. Since then they have altered the number, and there must have been other changes also, for the house they told me to go to was certainly not the place I had seen; but I have commissioned a nice Monsignore to make further inquiries, so I hope to identify it another time. In regard, however, to another of her haunts I was far more fortunate. This was a little old mediæval castle in the Apennines, where she spent the summer with her baby after she had

recovered from her confinement. There is a full description of it in her journal and she had often described it to me. At first the people in Florence would not admit that there was such a place; but luckily I found in the hotel a waiter who had come from thence. I accordingly started by myself on a beautiful summer's afternoon, and having gone about an hour and a half by railway, I got an open carriage and drove about seven miles to a little old-fashioned town in a lovely cultivated valley and surrounded by hills. Beyond the town, on a little monticule, there stood a castle—such a dear old place, half castle and half house—with ruined towers, a portcullis, a courtyard, a little chapel, and everything befitting. Unfortunately the guardian had received strict orders not to allow anybody to enter the living-rooms, so I shall have to make a second journey there some day; but notwithstanding this disappointment my soul was filled with delight; for I conceived my mother, still a girl, looking out of the windows, pacing round the garden or walking up the steep ascent, so proud and happy with her baby in her arms, she herself being almost still a child. Never has anything brought her back so distinctly as this visit did, for evidently nothing has been changed either in the place itself or its surroundings since she lived there. . . .

"I also found in Florence another old lady of 83, who had been Signora Gigli, of Siena. It was in her house that my father and mother lived for several months before they came into Florence for my mother's confinement. At the time the Signora was about fourteen or fifteen, and as her own mother was an invalid she used to pass a great deal of time with my mother, and often went to the opera with her. They, the Giglis, lived on the first floor, and my mother and father on the second. She said I should easily recognize the house as a marble had been let into the wall in honour of one of her ancestors, who was something of a distinguished man. Accordingly when we went to Siena, which we did after four days in Florence, I was able to walk straight to the Casa Gigli. And here again I seemed to see my father and my mother when they first arrived in the dull little mediæval town, and walking up the little stone staircase to take possession of the first house they ever inhabited together."

On June 16 they left Rome for Sorrento, within easy

distance of Signor Crispi's summer quarters at Castellamare; and Lord Dufferin found his small yacht in Naples harbour "not a ha'porth the worse for her voyage from England." His letters home tell of regattas, of various nautical exploits and adventures; and his excuse for writing seldom is that he is always at sea.

"When one is sailing about these lovely islands in an enchanted vessel like the *Lady Hermione* one becomes lost to all sense of human obligation and family ties. Now, however, that I am back again on shore my conscience fills me with remorse. Our last expedition was to Ischia. The *Phæton* turned up early on Saturday morning, and having embarked a precious cargo of four ladies, she proceeded, there being no wind, to tow me across the bay. After going about ten miles a breeze sprang up, and I telegraphed to the ship to cast me off. This they did, but instead of going on, to my infinite disgust the horrid man-of-war pulled up and criticized me while I was preparing to make sail. Moreover, a rope having got jammed, your mother was naughty enough to send a boat with my man in it to help me. This made me so indignant that I drove him forth across the ocean with a fiercer storm of opprobrious language than the biggest gun on the ship could have emitted, and, having thus got rid of my too officious consort, I proceeded to have a most enjoyable cruise, re-joining the *Phæton* late in the evening.

"And now for our adventures. Of late I have been rather vagrant. There has been a regatta week at Castellamare, and I went down there for three or four days staying a couple of nights off and on at the hotel. The Italian fleet, or a part of it, also arrived; but the racing was not very interesting—at least as far as I or indeed anybody else was concerned—for there were not many boats, and though there was a category for five tonners in which I was included, all my competitors were regular racers with enormous masts and sails so that I had no chance with them. Still as long as we were reaching and beating—that is to say for two thirds of the way—we kept ahead of three out of the lot, but when it came to running, one of these with its light draft of water was too much for us. It would have been a different story, however, if only there had been a little wind.

"When at Castellamare I took the opportunity of visit-

ing the house in which I joined my mother after my father's death in 1841. It still belongs to the same family that let it to us—the Actons—its present owner being Admiral Acton, the Minister of Marine, and a friend of mine. I recognized the terrace at once, with the exception of a great big tree which puzzled me ; but it turned out that the tree was not planted till 1845, though it has now become a father of the forest. If you remember, I have a very pretty drawing of the place,—the terrace with pots of flowers and a great awning over it, with Vesuvius in the distance.

“ . . . I think I also told you how, on going to Constantinople on my way to Syria, I met Alexandre Dumas with a young lady in tow dressed as a boy. I happened to mention this circumstance to a Sicilian gentleman who is staying at the hotel, and he told me that he was at Palermo at the time, where Dumas and his little friend landed, and that he saw a great deal of them both. At dinner the young lady was in the habit, while Dumas was perorating according to his wont, of decapitating the flies, of which there were millions. This she did with great dexterity and put their bodies into Dumas' glass. After she had well filled it with these ingredients she turned round to him in a winning manner and reminded him that he had not refreshed himself, upon which Dumas, still eagerly talking, used to drain off the decoction ! ”

To Lord Arthur Russell he wrote—

September 14, 1890.—“ A few days ago we went up Vesuvius and spent the night there. As a rule I hate being kept out of my bed after eleven o'clock, but I enjoyed this expedition immensely. There is a considerable eruption going on, which is in itself an interesting thing to see ; but what pleased me most was the change from night to day. On the one hand we had the full golden moon in a deep dark sky, plunging into the darker ocean between Capri and Ischia ; and on the other the rosy fingered dawn making her lovely preparations among the mountains in the East for the advance of day. It was really too beautiful.”

They crossed over to Palermo and coasted round the southern side of Sicily to Syracuse.

To his daughter, Lady Helen—

September 27, 1890.—"The present Syracuse is on a small island in the middle of a circular bay, the two horns of which nearly encompass it; but the ancient city extended all over a limestone ridge that runs down towards the island and is only separated from it by a narrow strait which was easily bridged. On this ridge stood the principal sections of the city over which Hiero and Dionysius and so many others reigned in unexampled splendour; but of its past glory scarcely a stone remains except indeed at the furthest extremity, where an old Greek fort still stands partially erect, the only thing of the kind which remains extant in the world, I believe. You should get Grote's History and read the chapters describing the incidents of the siege of Syracuse. There is nothing in Walter Scott more absorbing:—so full of surprises, startling incidents and varieties of fortune. Nor does there anywhere exist on the face of the earth any theatre of a great historical event the limits and characteristics of which can be so easily identified. As you look across the harbour it seems filled with shining triremes, the splash of oars and the cries of the Doric and Ionian combatants. On the border of the marsh which proved so fatal to their army you see the tents of the Greek encampment, and, beyond, the gigantic quarries into which the seven thousand prisoners, the very flower of Athens, were cast to perish of hunger, thirst, and disease. Strangely enough, pretty much the same thing was repeated some years later, when the Carthaginians made a similar attack upon Syracuse, and in their turn filled the harbour with their gilded galleys. But again pestilence came to the rescue of the city and forced them to flee."

The history of ancient warfare along the Mediterranean should be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen, who have since done some memorable fighting in those waters. In Italy even more than in Canada and India Lord Dufferin found himself rewarded for his lifelong fidelity to ancient literature. In other letters he wrote—

"I am at this moment deep in Homer. I intend going through all my Classics, both Greek and Latin, as fast as I can. How delightful it is to have such resources and to be able to take pleasure in them. . . . My own life is so monotonous that I have nothing to tell you about it. I

am steadily wading through the *Odyssey* and a Persian book, and now I have taken up hieroglyphics again. This study I always intended to reserve as a resource for when I should become imbecile, so you see I am taking my precautions. But it is a wonderfully fascinating language, and lets one into such mysterious chambers of the past.

"I am now reading Froude's *Life of Cæsar*. It is interesting, and forcibly written, but one feels he is not a safe guide. As they say of the mansions of Ireland, 'they are always within a hundred yards of the best situation,' so one feels that Froude is never quite in the bull's-eye in the view he gives."

The adventurous temper and keen delight in seaman-ship, the excitement of matching human skill against wind and waves, the charm of solitude among the waters, with the land out of sight, had carried Lord Dufferin in his youth into the Arctic Ocean; and the lapse of years had not diminished his enjoyment of these sensations in the softer climate of the Mediterranean. After leaving Sorrento he wrote to a friend—

November 1890.—"We have now come back to Rome after having spent as delightful a summer and autumn as ever I spent in my life. During the latter part of our sojourn at Sorrento the wind began to blow, which greatly added to my enjoyment. Indeed on two or three days it blew almost a gale with a heavy sea, and I had some fine battling with the waves, my little boat being the only one that dare show her nose out of port. Under these circumstances it is impossible to describe one's sensations, especially when you yourself have designed and constructed what seems to be the living little creature to whose honour and guardianship you have entrusted your life. There you are, utterly detached from your ordinary existence, with hills and cliffs and shores already distant, enveloped in clouds and storm, and seeming to belong to a separate world from the tumbling raging tumult in the midst of which you are contending, while from time to time the struggle becomes so fierce that you know it is only your own skill, experience, and presence of mind, in conjunction with the mechanical skill and deftness of the ship itself, that stand between you and eternity. The exultation one experiences on such occasions

is almost maddening, for it is the victory of inventive ingenuity, vivified by moral force, that overcomes, and not only overcomes but makes subservient to one's purpose, the brute phrenzy of the adverse elements. Add to this the inexpressible beauty of the moving labyrinth of billows with their steep blue walls and fringes of roaring foam, which encompass you for miles in every direction; and, finally, the subsequent pleasure of returning safe and sound to port, letting go the anchor in a quiet harbour, and then finding one's self a few minutes afterwards tranquilly reading a book over the fire, with all the recent turmoil of the sea floating vaguely before you like a distant dream."

In a letter to Colonel Maurice,* who was at this time contributing articles on Waterloo to the *United Service Magazine*, Lord Dufferin has preserved the actual words that ended a famous chapter in European history—

"I was well acquainted with Count Flahault, who was Napoleon's Aide-de-Camp at Waterloo. I asked him what happened when the last charge of the Imperial Guard was repulsed. He said he was close to Napoleon at the time, that he was carrying Napoleon's field-glasses, that Napoleon took them from him, and with their assistance watched the advance of the troops up the hill. After a time he handed them back to Flahault, saying, 'Je crois qu'ils sont mêlés,' and turning his horse's head rode at a foot's pace off the field. I asked Count Flahault whether he showed any outward signs of the despair which at that moment must have overwhelmed him. He said he appeared to be absolutely destitute of emotion, and he added, 'In fact he was so dead tired and so physically exhausted that he was incapable of emotion.'"

To one of his sons who was just going to Oxford, he writes—

"I won't attempt to give you any advice on beginning your college career, for your own tact and good sense will be sure to guide you aright. The most important matter is of course the selection of your friends, for the friendships you make at Oxford are the friendships of your life. Do

* Now Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.B.

not therefore be in a hurry to become too intimate with any one in particular, but watch and wait, so that your associates may be really gentlemen,—men of honour, of a pure life, of high thoughts and noble purposes. Avoid as you would poison the rowdy, sporting, drinking set. The great object of your efforts must be now to obtain honours, but this will be hopeless unless your associates are also engaged in the same pursuit, for it is only with their habits and hours that yours can be made to harmonize.

“Another thing I would strongly recommend you to do is to make a point of going regularly to chapel every morning, and never missing church on Sundays. I myself used to go both to morning and evening prayers at Christ Church, though the latter were not obligatory, and I found the practice a great comfort and happiness.”

From another letter to his son it might be inferred that Lord Dufferin was touched by some prophetic instinct of compassion for the perplexities of his own biographer. Many important letters in his earlier correspondence have no other date than the weekday.

January 31, 1891.—“It is rather a Sheridan habit to leave one’s letters undated, and now that I am collecting all your grandmother’s correspondence I find it so difficult to put her letters in the right sequence, and sometimes I would give anything to know the exact day, month, and year in which some interesting letter was written. As I hope you will become sufficiently famous to make it a matter of importance to posterity that every scrap of your writing should be duly annotated, interlined, glossed and commented upon, I would have you, out of pity to your future editors and biographers, follow the laudable practice I have indicated.”

Toward the end of March 1891 Lord Dufferin signed with the Marquis di Rudini, who had now succeeded Crispi as Prime Minister, the Protocol defining the English and Italian spheres of influence in East Africa. This delimitation settled the only question of direct importance that had given some trouble and had occupied Lord Dufferin’s attention during the time of his embassy at Rome. Throughout that period, neverthe-

less, the relations between England and Italy were in a stage that required judicious diplomatic handling. Signor Crispi was constantly impressing upon the English ambassador the inestimable value to England of Italy's friendship, and hinting that material concessions would be a proper way of cementing it. The English calculation, on the other hand, was that although a good understanding with the Italian government was exceedingly desirable, it would be purchased too dearly by concurrence in proceedings that might involve a serious misunderstanding with France. The French occupation of Tunis, to which England had been a consenting party for her own purposes, still rankled as a grievance in the recollection of the Italians, and Signor Crispi spared no pains to warn England that the establishment by France of a fortified naval base at Bizerta was a danger to English interests in the Mediterranean. But against this view the statesman who then held the British Foreign Office set the broad historical observation that neither in ancient nor in modern times had any European power attempted to establish a strong naval or military fortress on the North African coast. Without complete control of the sea such a fortress would be isolated, and would not long be tenable in time of war, when munitions and reinforcements from Europe might be cut off; the responsibility for defending its dockyard and arsenal would encumber all military operations; and some urgent necessity for relieving its garrison might dislocate the plans of a campaign. Lord Salisbury's very recent prophecy, that the Russians would find Port Arthur an unprofitable acquisition, was probably founded on similar reasoning; and to an English strategist, who has long been accustomed to treat all transmarine possessions as dependent for security on sea power, the argument is obvious enough. To the Italians it was not so clear that Bizerta might prove rather a burden than an advantage; it is the promontory nearest to Sicily, where the breadth of sea between Europe and Africa narrows down; and Lord

Dufferin must have had some trouble in consoling them for the loss of a corresponding point of vantage on the southern mediterranean littoral.

Lord Dufferin's election to the Rectorship of St. Andrews has already been mentioned.* As the time for his instalment was now approaching he wrote to his son-in-law—

January 25, 1891.—“With regard to my visit to St. Andrews, I am quite prepared to fix the date for it at whatever time may be most convenient to the St. Andrews authorities and to you and Nelly. I only wish, however, that I felt more fit to say something to the young men that would be worth their listening to. I never have any difficulty in speaking of matters that come naturally within my own jurisdiction, but a *discursus* into regions beyond, where I am not sure of my ground, is a very different matter. I am no authority upon education, for I am myself very imperfectly educated, and though I am very fond of the Classics, I should be unwilling to give an opinion upon the present Greek and no-Greek controversy. What therefore I was thinking of was a rambling kind of paper which should resume my own personal experience as to what equipments I have myself found most useful in the battle of life. This at least would be practical, and might be made both lively and interesting.”

Upon this plan, accordingly, the address was composed; and he went on ten days' leave from Rome to St. Andrews, where he made his speech as Lord Rector in April. Advice to young men is of no especial interest to mankind at large; yet some passages that reflect the matured opinions, tastes, and observations of the speaker himself—samples from his accumulated stock of worldly knowledge—may have sufficient biographical value to justify a few quotations.

“Assuming” (he said) “as a premiss that these two principles, the love of God and the love of your native land, are to you as the very breath of your nostrils, and the permanent as well as the ultimate objects of your existence—

* See p. 492, *ante*.

I propose to pretermit those loftier themes upon which my predecessors have expatiated, and will confine myself to the consideration of such subordinate topics as an ordinary man of the world might presume to submit to such an audience."

In the first place he advises the students to get clearly into their heads "the fact that life is a succinct, definite, circumscribed period of time, sufficiently long to get a great deal done in it, and yet not long enough to oppress us with the idea of exhausting and unending effort."

Secondly, they are counselled to take careful measurement of their powers and aptitudes before choosing a profession; and from this point he turned to the general subject of education.

"My belief is that our whole method of teaching the dead languages should be changed, that we begin altogether at the wrong end, and that this initial mistake is never retrieved. I myself was introduced to the Latin grammar when I was six years old, and to the Greek grammar a couple of years later; and when I left Oxford after fourteen years of uninterrupted application at these two tongues, the most that I could do was to translate with some sort of decency a few Greek plays, some books of Herodotus, a little of Cicero, and some Virgil and Horace that had already been carefully conned. . . . Later in life I reflected with shame on the paucity of my classical acquirements, and I set myself down to learn Greek in the same way as I would set about learning a modern language. . . . I confess I am inclined to range myself on the side of those who would retain not only Latin, but also Greek, as an essential part of the education of every gentleman. Indeed I cannot conceive the meaning of the term education if either Greek or Latin is to be excluded. . . . Is not Greek genius the divine source from which has sprung the existing after-growth of European literature, philosophy, art, and politics, while it is through the portals of Grecian history, Grecian mythology, and Grecian tradition that we find entrance into those dim mysterious regions peopled by the primeval nations that sprung, flourished, and decayed during a series of unnoted centuries on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates? . . . Besides, where else will you obtain,

otherwise than in the stories of the Greek States such a marvellous or instructive *Kriegspiel* or rehearsal of the course and possible contingencies of modern European politics ? . . . Like Great Britain Athens was a small mother country, with a splendid maritime jurisdiction and important colonies, some of which turned against her in the day of trouble, while her absolute existence—the food of her people, her revenues, and her commercial wealth—depended on her command of the sea. She loses a single naval battle and her *imperium* is for ever shattered, the violet crown falls from her brows, her foremost citizens are either executed or sold into slavery, and her name as a political entity fades from the page of history.”

Then follow some remarks upon the paramount utility of learning modern languages. “ But far more important than the acquisition of any foreign tongue is the art of skilfully handling your own.”—In writing English the two cardinal qualities to be acquired are conciseness and lucidity ; the one great danger (he says) that besets youth is a love of ornament, metaphor, allusion.

“ Some years ago I had to write a report on the best way of reorganizing the government of Egypt, and my one thought in drawing up the paper was to make it a clear, practical, and business-like statement of the actual condition of the country, and of the measures it would be desirable to introduce for its improvement. Unfortunately, however, in one of the earlier paragraphs I was tempted in the fervour of composition—as there rose to my mind’s eye a regenerated Egypt and the beneficial consequences of the reforms I was suggesting, and which have been so happily applied, expanded, and improved upon by Sir Evelyn Baring—to make some allusion to Memnon and the rising sun. It was a perfectly spontaneous image which sprang unbidden from the innocence of my heart ; but those who, for one reason or another, were opposed to the policy of the government I was representing, at once seized upon this unfortunate simile, and denounced what I had written, which in all its other parts was as bald as well could be, as a literary exercitation ; and no doubt they were perfectly justified in considering that neither Memnon nor the rising sun had any business in a blue-book.”

In the latter part of his address Lord Dufferin discoursed at some length upon the art of public speaking—so important for success in the higher professions and in politics, and yet so little cultivated educationally. He told some good stories (*more suo*) to enliven his solid advice, and gave various hints as to methods of preparation and delivery, drawing upon his recollections and on what he had himself noticed in debates.

“You must not suppose that even the most practised of our public men are free from those lapses and infirmities which naturally fill our own minds with terror at the thought of speaking in public. I have seen the late Lord Derby, one of the most eloquent, courageous, and successful speakers that ever charmed the two Houses of Parliament, tremble throughout his frame at the commencement of one of his great speeches. I have seen a Lord Chancellor of England completely lose the thread of his discourse, and sitting down, confess that he had done so; and I have heard another very famous orator rolling forth platitude after platitude in the most helpless manner, simply because he could not, for the life of him, hit off a satisfactory peroration. . . .”

With regard to gesture he said, “I have been struck, when attending the debates in the Italian Parliament, by the unstudied and easy manner in which its members enforce their meaning by graceful and spontaneous gestures. They neither put their hands beneath their coat-tails, nor do they scratch the tops of their heads, nor do they toss about their pocket-handkerchiefs, or wave one arm up and down like a pump handle, nor bend their bodies in two at every word. So far from this being the case, it is quite a pleasure to watch them, even when you are not able either to hear or perhaps to comprehend what they are saying.”

In his parting words the Lord Rector laid stress on the supreme importance of conduct.

“Now the essence of conduct is a right judgment in all things. . . . and half the mistakes in life arise from people merely revolving things in their minds in a casual half-hearted manner. . . . My practice has always been, and I heartily recommend it to my young hearers, no matter how long or how carefully I may have been chewing the cud of

reflection, never to adopt a final determination without shutting myself up in a room for an hour or a couple of hours, as the case may be, and then with all the might and intellectual force which I was capable of exerting, digging down into the very depths and remotest crannies of the problem, until the process had evolved clear and distinct in my mind's eye a conclusion as sharp and cleanly cut as the facets of a diamond. Nor, when once this conclusion was arrived at, have I ever allowed myself to reconsider the matter, unless some new element affecting the question, hitherto unnoticed or unknown, should be disclosed."

Returning to Italy, he was again, in May, on board his yacht in the Bay of Naples, and in June he took a longer leave of absence to England. At Cambridge he took an honorary degree; he was in the House of Lords at the first reading of the Land Purchase Bill; and he met the Emperor and Empress of Germany in London.

To Lady Helen he wrote—

July 16, 1891.—"The Emperor's visit has gone off very well. Your mother and I were invited to a luncheon at the Londonderrys, which was admirably managed. I was reintroduced to the Emperor, who is always very civil to me, and presented to the Empress. He told me he remembered being shown to me by his mother when he was a little boy at Berlin and Potsdam. I also went to the Guildhall, and was modestly entering the big chamber when I was met by six gentlemen accompanied by a herald, who proclaimed my name in a voice of thunder. This itself was sufficiently embarrassing, but it became much worse as I walked up the aisle and found myself greeted by thundering cheers. In fact, as the papers say, I received quite an ovation. When I got to the dais I found Salisbury, and I eventually took refuge amongst the foreign ambassadors."

In July he spoke on a proposal* to erect a memorial to Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian prime minister.

"No doubt," (he said) "in Sir John Macdonald's long career he was confronted by many a sudden and unexpected emergency, and on these occasions he invariably

displayed both courage and resource. But I am inclined to think that what bears most conclusive testimony to his extraordinary talents has been the even tenor with which Canada has pursued her successful way during recent years, the absence of all serious complications from her history, and the freedom from all anxiety on her account, which we have enjoyed during the last half century, notwithstanding the peculiar delicacy of her geographical position and the ethnological diversity of her population, with the conflicting interests it naturally engenders. What might have happened had the affairs of our great dependency been directed by a less cautious and less skilful or a less patriotic pilot, those only who are well acquainted with the intricacies of Canadian political problems can adequately appreciate."

After a visit to Clondeboyne he set off once more for Rome, stopping at Poitiers to look up early records of the Blackwood family. Then came the offer, which he accepted, of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports; and in the last month of 1891, Lord Lytton's death, greatly lamented in Paris, vacated for him the Embassy at the capital of France.

December 10, 1891.—"Your proposal" (he wrote in reply to Lord Salisbury) "took me completely by surprise, for, after having been given Rome in the circumstances in which my appointment occurred, I felt I had no pretensions to any further advancement, and when, in consequence of numerous newspaper reports, my name was bandied about with many others, I told the Prime Minister of Italy, as well as my colleagues and my friends, that there was no foundation for the rumours, and that I had not the slightest expectation of being moved. Both I and Lady Dufferin have been very happy at Rome, and I think that both the King and the two Prime Ministers with whom I have come into contact have been fairly satisfied with the way in which I conducted whatever business we have had to transact together. But of course Paris is the great prize of the diplomatic profession, and to be given it is a very considerable honour."

To Mr. Ferguson—

December 18, 1891.—"I am so glad you are pleased with the news, as I am sure Nelly will be also. So is her Excellency. But for myself I shall leave Rome with a very heavy heart. It is no light matter for any one at my age to plunge into a new and unknown world, and to re-enter upon the heavy work of a first-class embassy. I was perfectly happy here, and had no expectations of being changed, and no pretensions to go to Paris. Lord Salisbury had already been more than kind to me in giving me this embassy after India. . . ."

Mr. Gladstone, writing to a friend on the staff of the embassy, said—

December 12, 1891.—"Will you be kind enough to congratulate Dufferin very warmly on my own and my wife's behalf on his appointment to Paris. The country is also to be congratulated. I at least do not know how any different and equally good appointment could have been made."

The journals of the last three months at Rome contain no incident worth notice. Early in March Lord and Lady Dufferin had their farewell banquet at the Quirinal palace; and after presenting his letters of recall Lord Dufferin, acting upon a special message, from the Pope, had a final audience of His Holiness* at the Vatican. The King and Queen of Italy visited them at the Embassy to bid them good-bye on the day before they left. On March 7 all Lord Dufferin's colleagues, with the Roman society largely represented, took leave of them at the railway station on their departure.

* Some years afterwards Leo XIII. sent a copy of his poems to Lord Dufferin.

CHAPTER XVI.

PARIS.

THE period of Lord Dufferin's embassy at Paris lies only a few years behind us, and moreover this, his last, appointment was to a country much nearer home than any of those in which he had previously served. Proximity of time is by no means an advantage for the writing of biographies; it places a stricter limit upon the use of materials that would be otherwise available; and imposes much greater reserve in treating of events, public and private, and of persons. When the subject of a memoir is a diplomatist, and the scene of his work is so close as France is to England, these conditions become embarrassing; while we also miss the perspective which throws a clearer light on circumstances and characters, explaining mistakes and correcting the point of view. It is not possible to draw upon Lord Dufferin's correspondence for the purposes of this chapter so freely as has been done heretofore. Nor were the affairs transacted between France and England during the years 1892-6 of the very first importance, so that the course of Lord Dufferin's official life, at this final stage of it, is henceforward less marked by events of the kind that give an historical interest to diplomacy.

At the beginning of March (1892) Lord Dufferin reached Paris from Rome. He was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, looked over the British Embassy and the business awaiting him there, and passed on to London, where his first visit was to

Lord Salisbury. Among the numerous calls that he made he notes one to General St. John Foley, "who was the last person who saw my father alive, having travelled with him to Liverpool;" and after a week's stay in England he returned to Paris. His diary records the usual round of ceremonious visits paid and repaid; a daily turn on the bicycle, with occasional evenings at the theatre. At the opera "*Count Louis of Turenne*" took me into the *Foyer de la danse*, and introduced me to Madame Melba. I had never been behind the scenes of a theatre in my life before either in England or in France;" though he had been always an assiduous spectator in front of them.

He wrote to his daughter—

March 28, 1892.—"I have now got through all my official visits, and my official reception—a tiresome affair in uniform. I liked Carnot; but my famous speech did not go off so well as I could have wished, for I suddenly forgot a particular word in it, and though I could easily have replaced it by an equivalent, I did not like to do so for fear of being accused of tampering with the text, which had been already communicated; so I was forced ignominiously to look down at my paper. Carnot read his speech without any pretence of reciting it. He was very gentlemanlike and courteous, and he ended his oration with a personal compliment to myself, for which I was quite unprepared.

"The only other interesting thing we have witnessed has been the reception of Loti at the Academy. I had never been there before, and it gave me an opportunity of seeing for the first time some of the most distinguished literary men of France. Amongst them was Renan, whom I had parted with forty-two years ago on the coast of Syria."

Upon Egyptian affairs he writes to Sir Evelyn Baring—

April 12, 1892.—"I have just finished reading your Egyptian Report of February 9, and I have seldom gone through a more satisfactory document. It must also have been very gratifying to you to see how universally throughout Europe the success of your achievement is recognized; for our enemies in spite of themselves cannot get over the fact that under your administration a bankrupt country is

now able to show a surplus of £1,200,000, and that too after large remissions of taxation. Moreover, I was especially gratified by the sympathetic and indulgent reference to the two Councils I had established. They were a good deal ridiculed at the time, but as it was then uncertain how long we were going to remain, or rather how soon the Turks might not be reinvested with their ancient supremacy, I desired to erect some sort of barrier, however feeble, against their intolerable tyranny. On the other hand I felt that, as you have most justly said, if English superintendence were to endure, they might be fostered and educated into fairly useful institutions, proving a convenient channel through which the European element in the government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and the less obvious wants of the native population. You can understand then how pleased I have been at your having taken a view of them altogether in accordance with what I hoped might be their future destiny."

On June 18 Lord Dufferin left Paris for his installation at Walmer as Warden of the Cinque Ports; and some days later the ceremony took place. He went in procession, escorted by a good company of notables, to the Baederstone—the place, marked by the ruin of a Roman pharos, where the ancient court of Shepway has been held for the last two hundred years. Here the Seneschal made proclamation of the meeting; the Barons of the Cinque Ports answered to the roll-call of their names, and Lord Dufferin was then desired to assume his office, being the 150th successor to the Wardenship from the death of Earl Godwin in 1053. "When I came to the Castle, I thought," he wrote, "a good deal about poor Lord Granville on entering this house which was so long his home." In the evening the Mayor of Walmer gave a banquet; other festivities followed; Lord Dufferin went back for a week to Paris, and returned to Dover. "Immediately on arriving got on board my little boat and sailed for Walmer. Scarcely a breath of wind, though I had the flood tide in my favour all the way." From Walmer he set off again to attend the Tercentenary Commemoration of Trinity College at Dublin early in July.

At the banquet given by the Trinity College authorities he made a short speech in proposing the toast of Literature, Science, and Art; and next day he presented an address to the College from the Royal University of Ireland. A brief visit was made to Clandeboyne before Lord and Lady Dufferin departed for England.

He wrote to his daughter—

July 10, 1892.—"Here we are at Clandeboyne after a tremendous Dublin week. We arrived last night in pelting rain, but to-day is one of the loveliest summer days I have ever seen in any country. Your mother and I have been everywhere—in the morning round the lake, while Victoria visited all the old women; and after luncheon we all three went up to the Tower, from whence we saw a sight I have never witnessed before—the whole of Scotland, including Cantyre, and the whole of the Isle of Man, as plain and as near as the shores of Antrim; while the Irish coast up to Fair Head was equally visible. It was quite marvellous. As for the view at our feet, it looked as if the whole of Clandeboyne demesne were made of jewels and enamels, the trees and lawns shone and glistened with such a lovely green.

"The Trinity College celebration was really magnificent. I have seen many shows, but none so full of dignity and real meaning. All the universities of the world were represented, and the procession which we formed in our gowns of every colour was most striking. We had a service in St. Patrick's Cathedral, two balls, a banquet, at which I made a poor speech, which had the merit, however, of not lasting over two minutes, and two garden parties, one at the Viceregal, and the other at Lord Wolseley's. We stayed with the latter and had a small and pleasant party—Lyll and the Leckys—the people in the house being eked out with guests every night at dinner."

Most of the time, before their return to Paris in August, was passed in the castle by the sea at Walmer. Meanwhile there had been a dissolution of Parliament; and after the general election Mr. Asquith's motion of want of confidence had been carried against the ministry of Lord Salisbury, who made way for Mr. Gladstone on

August 16. Lord Dufferin writes to Lady Helen Munro Ferguson from Paris—

August 15, 1892.—"You will probably have seen in the papers that the Queen, on the recommendation of Lord Salisbury, first sent for Mr. Gladstone. This is one of those misstatements which become inextricably incorporated in history, like flies in amber, but it is not the fact. The person she really sent for was me, but as I had left Cowes I could not obey her commands, and therefore shall not become Prime Minister just at present. She asked me to come over and dine on Friday by myself, and I have no doubt it was to talk over the crisis, which she had already discussed with me the week before."

In October he writes—

"I am going over to London to Lord Tennyson's funeral in Westminster Abbey, for I am asked to be one of the pall bearers. I forget whether his poetry suits you, for the poet of one age is not always in harmony with the next generation. I never cared for Byron, but the moment I opened a volume of Tennyson as a young man at Oxford, I felt that he was my poet. In any event he was one of the noblest kings of literature that England has ever possessed."

To Lady Tennyson—

December 20, 1892.—"I have always considered Lord Tennyson's friendship as the chief honour of my life, and his affectionate notice of me in his dedicatory poem, and his beautiful lines on Helen's Tower will render my mother's name and my own immortal long after the memory of anything that we have been or done has been swallowed in oblivion. I need not say that the affection I felt for your husband will continue to be as warm for you as long as I live; nor must I forget to thank you for the inexpressibly kind thought which prompted you to invite me to take part in the funeral, and to stand beside his grave in Westminster Abbey. A more splendid spectacle I have never witnessed, for it combined every element of grandeur:—the magnificent framework of the Abbey itself, with its marble population and historical memories; the presence of all the intellect of England, in all its force and in all

its variety ; the dead man speaking to us in his own words borne on the wings of such beautiful music ; and what is most rare at any funeral ceremony the sincerity and the unanimity of regret felt for him whom we were committing to the grave. No one who was present will ever forget the scene, which was unparalleled in its dignity and splendid significance."

At the end of 1892 the collapse of the Panama Canal Company produced "one of the most tremendous rows ever known in the French Chamber, and that is saying a great deal." The shareholders lost their money, the discovery of scandalous malpractices ruined several official and parliamentary reputations ; and public indignation exploded violently.

"The whole of France" (Lord Dufferin wrote) "is one wild sea of denunciation, suspicion, and mutual recrimination, and even the phrases of 1793 are coming back into use. The ten representatives arrested are described as the first 'fournée,' and they have been carried off in 'la première charette ;' and a deputy, in a speech denouncing another member of the Chamber, exclaimed, 'Voilà la tête que je veux,' quite in the Dantonese style."

In this general fermentation of spirits it is not surprising that latent animosities came to the surface, and that wild rumours found easy credit.

Soon after his arrival in Paris Lord Dufferin had been surprised and mystified by the appearance in some of the minor French journals of articles attributing to him inveterate hostility to French interests, and making the most preposterous imputations upon the motives and methods of his diplomacy. It was asserted that during his previous career Lord Dufferin had been the chief agent in several transactions that had formerly terminated disadvantageously for France ; that in Egyptian complications his sinister influence had been prominent ; that the annexation of Burmah—a matter in which France had not been unconcerned—had been principally his handiwork ; and that in Italy his atti-

tude toward French policy had been unfriendly. The Parisians were now warned that his mission in their capital was to undermine and to frustrate surreptitiously the cordial understanding recently established between France and Russia. In the management of such intrigues he was declared to be no less unscrupulous than adroit; and it was publicly affirmed that he had been provided by the British government with secret funds, amounting to three millions of francs, for the purpose of executing his nefarious projects. The peril to France was the greater, one journalist observed, because the French ambassador in London, Monsieur Waddington, had joined the conspiracy, and was notoriously playing into the hands of the British ambassador in Paris—

“ Il est triste que dans cette lutte avec les habiletés Anglaises, nous ayons à la fois contre nous un ambassadeur d'Angleterre détestant la France et un ambassadeur de France dévoué à l'Angleterre.”

It would have been superfluous to revive these absurd calumnies if they had not been widely circulated and commented upon at the time, and if for the moment their effect had not been to make serious impression upon popular credulity, and even to disparage Lord Dufferin in Parisian society at large. There had been great rejoicing over the friendly demonstrations of Russia, so that upon any rumours affecting this point the French were naturally susceptible; while recent disclosures of corrupt practices in connexion with the Panama Canal Company may have stimulated universal suspicion. However this may be, Lord Dufferin found it necessary to make some public protest against assiduous and apparently concerted imputations upon his character as the representative of England. To pass them over in silence had become impossible, and at the annual dinner of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris he took the opportunity of refuting them.

Early in February (1893) he wrote to his daughter—

"On Monday night, when Gladstone is expatiating on his Home Rule, I also shall be on my legs, and I am going to do a very risky thing. In my speech at the banquet of the English Chamber of Commerce I am going to allude to the calumnies which have been propagated about my trying to corrupt the French Press and French public men by the distribution of enormous sums of money. But nobody would believe to what an extent this abominable lie has been credited, even in good society."

From what he said on this occasion the following passages are extracted :

"I do not wish to refer to what is past in an ill-tempered or acrimonious spirit, for I am willing to believe that these attacks have emanated rather from the ignorance and *naïveté* than the malice of their authors ; but it is certainly new to my experience that an ambassador, the personal representative of his Sovereign, should be caught by the *engrenage* of the domestic polemics of the country to whose government he is accredited. Hitherto it has been considered that his great office and the majesty of the Sovereign and country he represents, as well as the courtesy and hospitality of the nation amongst which he resides, were sufficient to secure him in the enjoyment of that semi-conventional obscurity which is his proper element. But unfortunately, these safeguards have not proved sufficient, and I have seen myself repeatedly accused in widely circulated papers, whose statements have undoubtedly carried conviction with them to vast numbers of people, of the most disgraceful and abominable conduct, of acts which, if proved, would justify my being summoned to the bar of a criminal court. It may, of course, be said that these assaults are beneath my notice. Well, they are so far beneath my notice that I have not thought it worth while to make them the subject of any official complaint ; but to-night we are for the moment in England. . . . Moreover, as the monstrous fabrications to which Sir Edward Blount has referred would militate against my usefulness as an ambassador if even partially credited, I do not hesitate to take this opportunity to say that the whole series of assertions which has been so industriously propagated, including the absurd statement that I arrived in France furnished with an enormous sum of money—three millions of francs,

I think was the sum named—to be applied to the corruption of the French Press and of French politicians with the view of breaking up the Franco-Russian alliance, is not only untrue in the widest acceptation of that term, but that there is not and there never has been a shade or a shadow of substance in any of the various allegations which from time to time have been issued with the view of building up this inconceivable mystification. . . . The fact is that since I arrived in Paris I have not spent a sixpence that has not gone into the pocket of my butcher or baker, or of that harmful but necessary lady, the avenger of the sin of Adam, whose bills every householder who values his domestic peace pays with alacrity and without examination—I mean the family *coutumière*."

The speech was well received in France as a good-humoured and spirited appeal to the common sense and generosity of the nation from the malevolent attacks that had been made upon an ambassador. The *Figaro* passed some good-natured criticisms upon it in an article that concluded with these words—

"Ceux de mes compatriotes qui veulent savoir ce que signifie l'épithète *gentlemanlike* que les Anglais emploient si volontiers, le savent maintenant ! Et s'ils ne sont pas contents—they auront vraiment tort de le montrer—car ce ne serait pas *gentlemanlike* ! En tout cas, ils ont lu un discours vraiment amusant et qui prouve que Lord Dufferin est non seulement le diplomate très fort et très dangereux que l'on connaissait, mais aussi un orateur adroit et spirituel que l'on ne soupçonnait pas—à Paris, du moins. Cet ambassadeur est un délicieux humoriste ! "

The English Foreign Office, of whose approbation Lord Dufferin had not felt quite sure, agreed that the disclaimer was salutary and necessary. The English Press supported him cordially, and undoubtedly the effect of this plain-speaking was to convince his traducers that their mark had been overshot.

He wrote to his daughter—

"The speech was wonderfully well received by the audience, all the women, and indeed I may say all the men,

coming up afterwards to thank me and to shake me by the hand, and all were extraordinarily enthusiastic. . . .

"The first person to compliment me was the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, who said, 'Savez vous que votre discours a eu un très grand succès?' He has recurred to the subject in the same terms every time I have seen him since, and almost every Frenchman or woman I have lately met has spoken in the same sense. I have been repeatedly told that the myth so extensively believed has been now completely exploded. Even the newspapers that might have been expected to criticize have either given the speech without comment or have been fairly complimentary, though protesting that it was unjust to speak as if France were the only country in which ambassadors are occasionally criticized."

Some months later these incredible slanders were finally extinguished by the trial and punishment of a man who had forged some documents purporting to prove conclusively that British gold had been employed in bribing influential journalists, and even deputies, in Paris. It was pretended that these papers had been abstracted from the British embassy; but when they were read out in the French Chamber the whole case broke down at once under a storm of ridicule.

In April 1893 the President, M. Carnot, opened the annual exhibition of pictures at the Salon, when Lord Dufferin notes that his own portrait, by Benjamin Constant, was much admired by the public and praised by the French journals.

The subjoined extract from a letter illustrates the extent to which Conscription literally brings home to a people the consequence of a warlike policy, especially at a period when the European nations do so much of their fighting outside Europe.

"I believe there is growing up amongst the mass of the French population a far stronger disinclination to war than has hitherto existed. Colonial wars have always been an abomination to them. The French peasant does not understand his son being sent to die of fever in a Chinese jungle or to be run through the body by an African lance. But

the universality of military service has impressed every French family in the country with a sense of the misery which war might entail ; and though the recollection of their last military disasters may fade from their memory, the general conviction of the risk and calamities entailed by war is more likely to deepen than to disappear as time goes on."

In October the visit to Paris of the Russian naval officers, whose appearance was hailed as the outward visible sign of Russia's friendship and sympathy with France, excited very lively demonstrations in Paris. They drove about the city in carriages preceded and followed by guards of honour ; and Lord Dufferin notes that for eight days past the main thoroughfares had been rendered impassable by the crowds thronging for any sight of them. Men and women ran alongside to touch or kiss the hands of the officers ; they were besieged at their residences, and were compelled to come out frequently on the balconies to receive public ovations, when they sometimes cut their gloves into pieces for distribution to the concourse below. Admiral Avellan (an old acquaintance of Lord Dufferin's) received 19,000 letters asking for his photograph, his signature, or some other personal token ; the Russian and French flags waved together in every direction ; and the Rue de la Paix "was roofed with bunting." There was a magnificent banquet at the Elysée Palace, but the foreign ambassadors were invited only to a State ball on the same evening.

The scene at the interment of one of the last Field Marshals of France is thus described by Lord Dufferin, who attended as the representative of the Queen—

"The funeral of Marshal MacMahon took place on a lovely day—bright sunshine and a warm air. The procession started from the Madeleine. The steps leading up to the building are very high and broad, and they presented a magnificent spectacle, being crowded with officers, civil and military, in their brilliant uniforms. The whole area was ablaze with gold and steel and stars and plumes

—shining helmets and laced cocked hats rising tier above tier in a variegated bank of colour, for which the Grecian columns, the doors and the vestibule of the building, all shrouded in black and silver, provided a striking background. After we had waited for about an hour, the funeral car began to move. . . . The streets were lined with troops, and behind the troops stood thousands and thousands of people, while other thousands looked on from the windows of the six-storied houses which form the Rue Royale, through which the *cortège* passed. After traversing the Place de la Concorde, the procession turned up towards the Arc de Triomphe, and then crossed the river to the Champ de Mars and the Invalides. When the Mass, presided over by the Archbishop of Paris, was concluded, the whole assembly streamed out into the 'Cour d'honneur,' where the Prime Minister and the Minister of War delivered addresses. After this, the funeral car was removed to the entrance of the Invalides and in front of the great esplanade, where the entire garrison of Paris was drawn up under arms, and was subsequently moved, regiment by regiment, past the bier, each regiment and its officers and colours saluting the dead soldier that lay within it. This part of the ceremony took more than an hour, and it was four o'clock before everything was over, the procession having left the Madeleine at eleven."

Some reference must now be made to the controversies, from 1893 to 1896, between France and England over the Siamese question, which was the most important affair that exercised Lord Dufferin's diplomacy during his residence at Paris. The points in dispute placed at one moment a considerable strain on the friendly relations between the two governments. Siam is a country lying between Burmah and the Indo-Chinese possessions of the French, so that its independence is a matter of substantial concern to the British Indian empire. With the quarrel between France and Siam England did not desire to interfere directly; but our Foreign Office insisted that the territorial concessions demanded from the Siamese by the French, should neither operate to the dismemberment of the kingdom, nor diminish or weaken Siam to an extent that might prejudice the

security of the Burmese frontier on the western side. We were also bound to safeguard our own subjects and their commercial interests within Siam. Out of this situation other and more complicated arguments arose over the delimitation of a small outlying tract lying on both sides of the upper Mekong river, that was to be neutralized as a buffer or intermediate zone between Burmah and the French protectorate of Tonquin. The elucidation of these differences produced long, intricate, and occasionally irritating discussions between Paris and London, which have now mainly lost their interest. It may be sufficient to say here that the firm attitude of two English Foreign Secretaries (Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury), and their correct appreciation of the points at issue, enabled Lord Dufferin to bring the negotiations to a reasonable conclusion; although his patience and temper were sometimes considerably tried. But the project of maintaining an independent tract on the upper Mekong eventually proved not worth the trouble that had been expended over it. Both parties had at first agreed to it; yet neither appears clearly to have understood that the system of neutralizing petty independent States lying between powerful rivals, jealous of each other's ascendancy, though it answers well (as for Belgium) in European politics, is not applicable to Asia, where the system of Protectorates usually prevails.* In such a position a weak and ill-ordered principality is sure to become embroiled in frontier disputes with one or another of its neighbours, until on some necessity or pretext the neutrality is broken, and usually disappears altogether amid the protests and recriminations that follow.

It is therefore no matter for regret that in the present instance the whole project of creating such an intermediary tract proved abortive. When in 1895 the

* An Indian "buffer" State is placed under the protection of the British Government, which takes sole charge of its foreign relations, and is responsible for its good behaviour (see p. 396). A neutral State would be subject to no such control.

French and English Commissioners met on the spot to mark out its boundaries, the representatives of France unexpectedly raised such inadmissible claims that all proceedings were suspended. Thereupon supervened a fresh and acute stage of protracted disputation between the French and English Foreign Offices, the brunt of which fell upon Lord Dufferin in Paris. It was only terminated in the final Declaration (1896) of the two governments, by a partition, whereby the Mekong river became a dividing line between the French and English territory on this section of their common border.

Lord Dufferin was at this time occupying his leisure in preparing the memoir of his mother which appeared as a preface to her poems.

To Mr. Hepburn he writes—

“I have been reading through the journals which I kept when we were at Oxford, where your name so constantly recurs, and the mention of all the pleasant things we did together. Do you remember that famous private business sitting that we had at the ‘Pythic,’ when Blackett was arraigned pretty much in the same spirit as Charles I. in Westminster Hall, for having failed to write out in our sacred book certain essays which it was his duty as secretary to copy in? How seriously we took it all, and how stormy was the discussion! . . .

“Amongst the many things connected with Oxford which have surprised me, the most surprising has been being made a Doctor. An event which would have appeared still more extraordinary, had I foreseen it when we were at Christ Church together, was Lady Dufferin’s being met in procession by the University heads and the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford, conducted in state to the schools, and there called upon to make a speech! Even now it seems inconceivable.”

To his daughter—

“I have been going through all my old journals, and I am lost in admiration of my industry, for they extend over a great number of years; and though sometimes my spirit has faltered in the midst of a year, it has resumed

the narrative with renewed courage at the beginning of the next. It is like living one's young life over again. . . .

"We are to have a dance here on Friday. It was in this very ball-room that I embarked with a young lady on a valse for the first time in my life, about fifty years ago. How little I then thought I should be here as ambassador ! Indeed, my whole life has been a series of surprises, from the day Lord John Russell proposed that I should be a Lord-in-waiting. . . . I have just received your New Year's gift, the two volumes of Scott's letters. You could not have given me a book which I should more value, for I love Sir Walter Scott with all my heart ; and, my mother excepted, I think he has done more to form my character than any other influence ; for he is the soul of purity, chivalry, respect for women, and healthy religious feeling."

In a letter of January 1894 to Mr. Hepburn, Lord Dufferin refers to the death of Monsieur Waddington, whom he had visited not long before at his country house in France.

"M. Waddington was an old friend of mine, for he came out to me in Syria, when I naturally took him for an Englishman until he said, 'I must now go and see my Commissioner,' on which I exclaimed, 'But I am your Commissioner.' 'No,' he said, 'Monsieur Béclard is, for I am a Frenchman.' Renan was there at the same time, as well as Chanzy and Ducrot. Chanzy and I became great friends, and he was afterwards French ambassador at the same time with me at St. Petersburg, when the poor Emperor was murdered."

Journal, March 1, 1894.—"Dined at home and afterwards went to the Count de Franqueville's at La Muette to meet the Duc d'Aumale. Mademoiselle Bartet of the Comédie Française recited. The Duc d'Aumale told us that after the battle of Valmy, his father, Louis Philippe, came up to Paris in order to push his claim to some military appointment before the Committee of Public Safety. Danton who was present told him to come to him the next day. When he arrived Danton said to him, 'You talk too much. I will get the affair settled according to your wishes. Go back to the army and stick to your career of a soldier, and your time will come.'

" This reproof was occasioned by Louis Philippe having loudly criticized the September massacres. With regard to these Danton said, 'C'est moi qui les ai faits. It was necessary to put a river of blood between the Republic and the Emigrés. But this matter does not concern you. History will judge of it. Hold your tongue and return to the army.' "

At the annual dinner given in March 1894 by the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Lord Dufferin again made a speech that was intended for a much larger audience. Upon this occasion he reviewed the state of Europe in the spirit of one who, surveying the continent from the vantage point of long experience and wide knowledge of current affairs, could predict the continuance of peace among the nations. In the political outlook, he said, no portents of serious trouble were discernible. With regard, especially, to the two great Powers with whom England was in immediate contact, Russia in Asia and France in Europe, he relied upon the Russian Emperor's well-known magnanimity and sense of honour for concurrence in the preservation of tranquillity on their Asiatic frontiers—

" France of late has shown, as have done the other nations of Europe, considerable colonial activity, and as we ourselves have long been engaged in similar colonial activity, we occasionally run up against each other in the cane brakes of Africa, or in the fever jungles of Indo-China. But what are these desultory troubles and local considerations in comparison with the great stream of tendency, to two such glorious nations who from the dawn of history have together held aloft the standard of civilization and progress in every line and walk of human enterprise? They are but as the ripple and angry splashing which mark the occasional sands and shoals of a mighty river which rushes with unrivalled majesty along its appointed way."

If, Lord Dufferin went on to say, quarrels and bad blood should arise between France and England " over a few acres of African swamp or a clump of thatched

villages in the tropics," it would be for diplomatists to apply remedies and to effect reconciliations.

That the British ambassador, speaking in public at the French capital, should pass lightly over certain contentious questions that were under sharp debate at the moment between the two governments, was obviously right and judicious. Yet some of those who heard or read his speech may have remembered that in past times small colonial disputes had led to great wars. The few acres of African swamp may have seemed a petty matter for strife between two mighty nations ; yet it might have been remarked that Voltaire accounted Canada (after it had been lost) as "a few acres of snow," not worth fighting about ! *

The speech, however, was well timed and successful in its main object of promoting feelings of amity and good will between the French and English peoples ; for on both sides of the Channel it was commented upon with approval and complacency. The English Press was confident that those French journalists who had recently been maligning their ambassador, would take to heart his generous friendliness ; and the French newspapers found in his pacific assurances a lesson to the Chauvinist newspapers of Great Britain.

Lord Dufferin wrote to his daughter—

" You will see I have been making a speech. It seems to have pleased people here, and it has not been found fault with in London, which is a comfort. All my life long whenever I have made a speech I have had to consider at least two and sometimes three audiences, like the circus riders who have to stand on the backs of several galloping horses at once."

In a letter to him from London Sir Donald Wallace said—

" It may perhaps interest you to know that the French

* " Vous savez que ces deux nations sont en guerre pour quelques arpens de neige, et qu'elles dépensent pour cette belle guerre beaucoup plus que tout le Canada ne vaut."—"Candide," chap. xxiii.

ambassador here spoke to me last night in most sympathetic—I might almost say enthusiastic—terms about your admirable speech to the English Chamber of Commerce. Of course you have seen how well it has been received by the Press all over Europe.”

And at a luncheon in Paris the Prince of Wales congratulated him on his speech, and said that all the Royalties at Cannes, the Russians, Germans, and every one, were very much pleased with it.

Dinners and garden-parties at the Embassy, diplomatic entertainments, theatres, the usual flow of social life at high tide in Paris, and a constant succession of guests who found room and a welcome at the Embassy, visits from men of letters, French and English, conversations with ministers and politicians of various nationalities on their passage through France, an excursion to Chantilly, where they met the Orleans princes—all these things fill Lord Dufferin’s journal for the summer of 1894.

But in June the assassination at Lyons of President Carnot spread universal grief and consternation throughout France, and indeed in all the capitals of Europe. At various times in the course of French history, it was remarked, attempts had been made to kill the Chief of the State, some of them plotted elaborately by conspirators who had studied the place and opportunity, armed with deadly scientific machinery. Yet of all these attempts two only, made simply and openly with very primitive weapons, had succeeded; for Henry IV. and President Carnot were each murdered by a man who placed his foot on the step of a carriage and stabbed them with a knife.

Some time afterward, when Madame Carnot was about to quit the Elysée Palace, Lord and Lady Dufferin visited her there. Lord Dufferin, who was much affected by the interview, wrote to the Queen that he “had never seen any lady bear herself in so dignified and noble a manner. She was very calm when talking of herself and her sorrows and the change in her life; but when

she turned to Lord Dufferin and began expressing her deep sense of Queen Victoria's goodness in writing the letter that she had received from your Majesty, she displayed such a force and energy of feeling as no words can convey."

The two Chambers proceeded immediately to the election of a new President, when their choice fell upon M. Casimir Perier. He bore a name of hereditary distinction in French politics; and his reputation for courage and capacity was so high that his election was counted upon as a sure step toward restoring the stability of ministerial cabinets—whose tenure of power had hitherto been brief, with abrupt terminations—and toward reinforcing the element of authority, which had become gravely compromised by repeated changes. As M. Casimir Perier held office for less than six months, it may be convenient here to touch briefly upon the circumstances, closely observed and commented upon by Lord Dufferin, which led to his speedy and sudden abdication.

His inaugural address plainly intimated an intention of dealing firmly with the party of disorder; but this at once raised up a coalition against him in the Chamber of Deputies. Lord Dufferin, on returning to Paris, in October, from a short absence in England, found M. Casimir Perier's unpopularity rapidly increasing. His personal character and political antecedents were virulently assailed by a section of the French Press; while those who should have been his friends and supporters were lukewarm. Certain incidents followed in the Chamber which seemed to put a slight on his office, and to disparage his legitimate influence on affairs; for it is to be understood that the reputation and responsibility of the President of the Republic are more or less associated, by public opinion, with the course of the country's administration. Exposed to insult and accusations without the possibility of defending himself, unable to strike back at those who attacked him, M. Casimir Perier, losing patience, decided that his position was

untenable. When, therefore, in January 1895, a concentration of parties in the Chamber of Deputies dismissed M. Dupuy's ministry by a vote that indirectly condemned a judicial decision of the Council of State, M. Casimir Perier, instead of summoning a fresh ministry, unexpectedly published his own resignation.

Such a *coup de théâtre*, as the French termed it, was startling, and Lord Dufferin wrote that "the excitement and surprise caused by it were very considerable. But" (he added) "it is certainly remarkable that although France thus suddenly found herself without either an executive government or a chief of the State, not only was there no disturbance of public order, but there does not seem to have been the slightest apprehension of anything of the kind." In a remarkable despatch he enlarged upon the difficult and distasteful position of the elected representative of a great nation, whose influence over the counsels of his own ministers might be reduced below that of a constitutional king. At the election two candidates were proposed by the Moderate party, against a third for whom the Radical party voted. When the Radical candidate failed at the first ballot to obtain an absolute majority, the two Moderate sections combined at the second ballot in favour of a single candidate, M. Faure, who came in at the head of the poll.

From July to October Lord Dufferin was on leave at home, with a few days' interval at Paris on urgent business. The autumn he passed at Clondeboyne, occupied with the management of his estate, the improvement of his house and grounds, and with local affairs generally. He presided at the opening of the Library Association in Queen's College, Belfast, and went there again to make a speech on the organization of University Extension Lectures. From Ireland he crossed the Channel in October to visit Lord Rosebery at Dalmeny; travelled thence to London for a meeting with Lord Kimberley at the Foreign Office, and was in Paris by the month's end. In his diary for the winter various

entries record good sport in the French covers—"a splendid day's shooting at Ferrières, nearly a thousand pheasants killed, I killed a hundred and fifty"—and another grand battue at Rambouillet, where he again upheld his country's sporting reputation, by slaying precisely the same number that fell to the gun of the President of the Republic. But the diary makes no allusion to other trials of skill, in the diplomatic field, over international rivalries in Asia and Africa, that were actively carried on during this time between France and England—entailing upon Lord Dufferin long interviews with the French ministers—and were not determined without some animated interchanges of views and arguments at the Quai d'Orsay. That in Asia Siam, and in Africa Nigeria on the west, the Congo State in the centre, Harar on the east, and Madagascar, should have been the principal subjects of contention, illustrates the broad expansion, in these days, of European dominion over scattered and outlying parts of the world. A glance at these distant and diverse points on the map shows the extent to which the modern system of protectorates, spheres of influence, and the stress of commercial competition, have multiplied the points of contact, friction, and collision among the enterprising nations of Europe.

In March 1895, when Queen Victoria was residing at Nice, Lord Dufferin was summoned there to attend upon Her Majesty. Yacht-racing engrossed much of his spare time, yet he found leisure to inquire for and renew his acquaintance with some very old friends whom he had known well when abroad forty years before—now aged ladies living in solitude upon strait means. On taking leave of the Queen after a week's stay, she spoke of ministerial changes impending in England, saying that he was almost the only one left of her old friends whom she might consult, as long ago she consulted the third Marquis of Lansdowne and the Duke of Wellington: and she desired his advice.

At Monte Carlo he "met Princess Beatrice and Prin-

cess Christian of Schleswig Holstein, who stood behind me when I was looking at the view. I told the Princess Beatrice to tell the Queen how innocently she had found me employed."

On his way back to Paris he stopped at Cannes to visit the cemetery, and noted in his Journal—

"I found the tombs of poor Lady Jocelyn, Lord Roden, and my godson Eric Jocelyn, and left a wreath on Lady Jocelyn's.

"Lady Jocelyn was the earliest and dearest friend I ever had; a most beautiful, attractive, and good woman. When I knew her, she had everything that this world can give; a happy home, a husband she loved, four beautiful children—two girls and two boys; beauty, charm, popularity. She was the step-daughter of the Prime Minister, one of the Queen's ladies and one of her dearest friends. She lived in a charming little cottage the Queen had given her at Kew, which was the very home of peace and domestic happiness. Her husband, who had been in the army, had become Colonel of a Militia regiment. His regiment was quartered at the Tower when the cholera broke out, and he thought it his duty to go and sleep there for a few nights to encourage his men. He was suddenly seized with cholera, and was taken to Lord Palmerston's house where he died. Her eldest daughter was severely burnt in the neck, and a few years afterwards died unmarried. Her next daughter, Edith, who married Lord Sudley, also died young. Both these girls were very pretty. The next to die was my poor little godchild Frederick (Eric). About the same time she lost her mother, Lady Palmerston, and her sister the Countess of Shaftesbury, to whom she was also devoted. Last of all her eldest son Lord Roden was struck down by a fatal illness, and she herself died in less than three months afterwards. It was a great tragedy."

His letter upon this occasion to Lady Mount Temple is subjoined—

April 3, 1895.—"It may perhaps interest you to know that on my way from seeing the Queen at Nice I stopped at Cannes on purpose to pay a visit to my dear friend's tomb. It was a beautiful morning, everything bathed in sunshine, and the landscape lovely on every side. I laid a

white wreath at her dear feet, and all her goodness and sweetness came back to me in a flood of tender reminiscences. She has always been a living presence to me, and I shall never forget her till the day of my own death. I brought away a little leaf of ivy and a sprig of trefoil from poor Roden's and my godchild's grave. How sad is the inscription on the one, and how touching the words on the other! On Lord Roden's—

'The last of my children.'

And on Eric's—

'Is it well with the child?'

'It is well.'

'But the light of mine eyes has gone from me.'"

Lady Jocelyn was Lady Palmerston's daughter by a previous marriage; and Lady Mount Temple had married her brother. A letter written by Lady Mount Temple to Lord Dufferin after reading his mother's poems, shows how deep and lasting was the memory on both sides of these early friendships.

"DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,

"Familiar name of my youth, now you are Marquess, Excellency, and Ambassador, and I know not what besides, still you are my Lord Dufferin, remembered so well in your beautiful dawning manhood; and I am past recognition, old and ill, I may almost say dying, and I feel just as if I could rest more happily if I may add my feeble thank you to the chorus of admiration that I know greets your beautiful book with the gleanings of her poetry, and your delightful sketch of your ideal mother. It has been lent to me by a friend, and I have been devouring it in my weakness to-day till I feel just filled with the past and the dear days of long ago when she was a fairy queen to me, and I remember what may please you as it does me. My dear sister, whom I know you admired and esteemed, Fanny Jocelyn, said to me in her last days, 'I have only known two men in my life thoroughly immersed in the world, and quite unspoilt by it,—my brother William and Lord Dufferin.'"

The end of a long and varied public life was now within sight. In March (1895) he had written to his daughter—

"Is it not wonderful to think that in a little over a year from now I shall have finished my official career, which has lasted almost continually for fifty years? but though I am very happy here, I am beginning to have a great craving for rest and peace, and especially for the country."

Yet he says in another letter—

"I have now entered my seventieth year, and I am seized by a feeling akin to consternation to perceive that in my feelings and habits of thought and ways of looking out upon the world, I am pretty much what I was at five and twenty."

The summer of 1895 was passed in England, though Lord Dufferin was in Paris for a short time in July. In his Diary for June he notes—

"Dined with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House to meet the Shahzâda. Sat between the Shahzâda and Lord Rosebery. A very agreeable dinner. All the members of the outgoing and incoming Cabinets were there, three ex-Viceroy, a great number of ex-Indian governors, and the Russian ambassador."

He had now resolved to settle at Clandeboye after his retirement, and accordingly he resigned the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports to Lord Salisbury, who succeeded him at Walmer Castle. When he returned to France in September he accepted, with Lady Dufferin, an invitation from the Count and Countess de Rochefoucauld to their château at Verteuil in Touraine.

"Verteuil" (he wrote to his daughter) "is about twenty miles from La Rochefoucauld, which was the original nest of the race. . . . Every chateau on the Loire and in its neighbourhood is a flower of architectural beauty, and there is not one that has not been the scene of some fearfully dramatic incident. Moreover, it was most interesting to observe the way in which the frowning donjon of the mediæval period began, after the return from Tuscany of the French army, to blossom with Italian ornament, and to clothe itself with deviceful windows, and spread itself

abroad in cheerful wings and terraces as rich as the hanging gardens of Babylon. . . .

"Amongst my other visits I went to see an enormous territory which was once possessed by the only Sheridan who ever made any money since the time of Queen Elizabeth. He was the uncle of Brinsley Sheridan, and he accumulated his fortune in Barbadoes. He then settled in France, became a very grand man, was made a Marquis by Louis Quinze, and married his daughter, who was an heiress, to the eldest son of one of the great French noblemen, who was killed, however, in a duel when he was only two and twenty, by the eventual possessor of the lady, the Marquis de Maillé de la Tour Landry. By him she became the mother of the Countess de Hautefort, who was the great friend of the Duchesse de Berry, and attended her in her very inopportune confinement. They have got pictures of these Sheridans, and the uncle is extraordinarily like my great-grandfather. The present Marquis de Maillé was very pleased on hearing that I was a kinsman of his, and treated me with the most cordial hospitality."

Journal, September 23 and 24, 1895.—"We left Verteuil in the morning for Poitiers, the Count and Countess de la Rochefoucauld coming with us as far as La Rochefoucauld, from which the family takes its name. Here there is an old castle uninhabited, belonging to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld. We went on to Poitiers, where we slept.

"Drove round the churches, etc., of Poitiers. Afterwards I went off to visit the battlefield, but found there was nothing to be seen. Then by train to Tours, and from Tours to Monnaie to stay for a few days with Madame de Wendel at her Château of L'Orfrasière."

They made excursions to the famous châteaux along the Loire, went on to another country house, and so to Paris by the first days of October.

In reference to Professor Blackie's death Lord Dufferin writes to Mr. Blackwood—

October 18, 1895.—"I was very fond of Professor Blackie and greatly sympathized with him in his enthusiasm for Greek literature. Once at the Duke of Argyll's at a very smart and fashionable party when all the young ladies and

gentlemen were flirting together, and everybody else was deeply engaged in conversation, there suddenly arose at the far end of the room a quavering voice that chanted a kind of dirge in a minor key. This was dear old Blackie, who was trying to illustrate in what fashion the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' originally reached Grecian ears. You may imagine the surprise of the audience."

Nothing short of enthusiasm, indeed, could have sustained Lord Dufferin himself in his indefatigable and laborious application to the study of Persian as well as of Greek literature. At the end of 1895 he notes in his Journal—

December 30, 1895.—"During this year I have learned by heart 786 columns of a Persian dictionary, comprising about 16,000 * words. Of these I have learned 8000 perfectly, 12,000 pretty well, and 4000 imperfectly. In three months' time I hope to have completely mastered the whole."

Then follows a long list of the Greek classics that he had read wholly or partly during the year—the Greek tragedians, eleven plays of Aristophanes, portions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, and others; no inconsiderable performance for a man who never neglected official business, made speeches and wrote letters innumerable, yet always found time for numberless social engagements, and delighted in sport by land or water.

In April (1896) Lord Dufferin wrote to a friend, "My term comes to an end on the 21st of June, when the clock will have struck 70." † And on June 2, at the annual banquet of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Lord Dufferin delivered the last of the many speeches that he had made from high places in the public service. It struck, as was natural, the valedictory note. He spoke of his regret at leaving "this delightful capital, where Lady Dufferin and myself have

* 24,000 ?

† It was prolonged by special arrangement until October.

lived so happily for the last four years, where we have had the opportunity of renewing affectionate relations with our French friends of former days, and where we have formed so many new ties." He acknowledged the courtesy and consideration which he had received from the French ministers and politicians with whom he had from time to time been engaged in handling "the thorny problems" of adjusting international claims and interests that were often inevitably contrary. In regard to the Press of Paris, he touched very lightly on bygone misrepresentations of his motives and character, and on the fulfilment of his confident prevision that they would be effaced by the lapse of time and a better understanding of him personally.

"It is true" (he said) "when I was first subjected to its acute and patriotic observation, the Press was disposed to exhibit towards me an attitude—well, I will say an attitude of coyness. But there were artificial circumstances existing at the time which sufficiently accounted for what happened; and knowing in my own heart how anxious I was to discharge the duties of my office in a spirit of loyalty and conciliation, convinced that no outsider could have come to France with a higher appreciation of the qualities of its inhabitants, or who could have already worked more harmoniously with its representatives abroad, I had little doubt that your discriminating journalists would eventually recognize in me the well-wisher of their country."

His description of the diplomatic service, from which he was just about to retire, will probably be accepted by most of those who have climbed up the ladder of promotion from its first steps.

"I cannot complain of the rule which fixes the age at which I have arrived—and which no power on earth will induce me to communicate to the ladies present—as the epoch for the compulsory retirement of ambassadors. My only doubt is whether it should not be enforced at an earlier period. The diplomatic service is undoubtedly one of the most advantageous of the liberal professions, but it has certain drawbacks in these days of intense com-

petition. It can only be entered after a severe examination, which implies an expensive education prolonged through many preparatory years. The earlier stages of the career are unremunerative, and the work desultory, mechanical, and often uninteresting. Its later phases, however, are most attractive, full of responsibility and importance, and its highest prizes are as worthy of a man's ambition as any at the disposal of the Crown. But the one thing that casts a shadow over the prospects of those who follow it, as indeed is the case in most professions, is the slowness, the uncertainty and sometimes the stagnation of promotion. In this last event the younger members are suffocated by the solid crust of the ranks above them, while these in their turn grow stale and disheartened amid the monotony and routine of their trivial though necessary duties. Now change and advancement are the very life of every career. It is the oxygen which revivifies our blood, brightens our intelligence, stimulates our initiative, and I assure you it is the greatest possible consolation to those who are stepping down from their high station to think that they are making room for younger men. Even so, such a break with the past cannot fail to be painful, for it is not only the conclusion of a chapter, but it is the closing of a book. Though a man's life may be extended a few years beyond the span of its official existence, its record can never be more than a dry appendix printed in a smaller type, and on the face of it neither inviting nor worthy of perusal. Nor at such a turning-point can one help recognizing with a sense of regret one's many shortcomings in the service of one's country, and the insignificance of one's efforts for the advancement of its interests. Though brought into contact with great events and concerned with momentous issues, one's *rôle* is rather that of the object floating on the stream and indicating its course than that of the controlling force which hurries it along and determines its destination; for political results are now less the fruit of individual effort than of those mighty popular energies which have been vitalized by our modern civilization."

Turning next to the conditions of modern diplomacy, he said—

"What do we see around us? The whole of Europe is little better than a standing camp numbering millions of

armed men, while a double row of frowning and opposing fortresses bristles along every frontier. Our harbours are stuffed and the seas swarm with ironclad navies, to whose numbers I am forced to admit England has been obliged in self-defence to add her modest quota. Even in the remotest East the passion for military expansion has displayed an unexpected development. In fact, thanks to the telegraph, the globe itself has become a mere bundle of nerves, and the slightest disturbance at any one point of the system sends a portentous tremor through its morbidly sensitive surface. We are told by the poets of old that when Zeus nodded the golden halls of his Olympus shook to their foundation. To-day it would suffice for any one of half a dozen august personages to speak above his breath or unwittingly to raise his little finger, and, like heaven overcharged with electricity, the existing condition of unstable equilibrium which sustains the European political system would be overset. . . . Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is to prevent catastrophes of this kind that we meek, civil-spoken, and, mild-mannered persons have been invented. Looking at us you will perhaps say that we are but a poor and feeble folk and our calling a sorry preservative against such dangers, but such as it is it is the best device that human ingenuity has been able to discover. After all a very thin wire proves a perfectly effective lightning conductor, and for over fifty years, thanks to this unpretending agency, an unbroken peace has been maintained between your native land and the country with whose prosperity and welfare your own interests are so closely connected."

This passage appears to have caught the public attention, for it was extracted and noticed in almost all the chief newspapers at home and abroad. Undoubtedly the rapid transmission of news, the publicity, ventilation, and discussion of every incident or dispute affecting international relations, have produced among political bodies a delicacy of the epidermis that was unknown to the rougher constitution of earlier governments. All the great Powers have now outlying frontiers that are very sensitive because they are shifting and unsettled; commercial and colonial rivalry has become so keen that a very slight collision may engender heat and a ten-

dency to inflammation; and in any such controversy the Press on either side takes part eagerly. Foreign secretaries and ambassadors are often like players for heavy stakes in a difficult game, at a table where a crowd of bystanders watch every move and speak their mind loudly.

Lord Dufferin's "last dying speech and confession," as he termed it, was translated in whole or partly into almost all the French journals, with comments that were generally favourable. It went the round of the European Press; the English newspapers agreed that the final words of their ambassador were honourable to himself and his country, and paid a due tribute of admiration to the distinguished career which was now terminating.

Next day there was a garden-party at the Embassy for which "about three thousand invitations" had been issued. A heavy thunderstorm drove every one indoors, where, however, "they enjoyed themselves very much—the French people being always so gay and good-humoured." *

Then came farewell visits, the presentation to Lady Dufferin, by the ladies of the English colony in Paris, of an address with some keepsakes of artistic value; and on June 21 Lord Dufferin received many letters of congratulation upon his seventieth birthday. The funeral of the Duc de Nemours appears to have been the last ceremony that he attended officially, on behalf of the Queen.

Early in July he crossed from Havre to Southampton, and so to London, after a few days' yachting, with a little sailor boy for his entire crew. His Diary records, among numerous other matters, a visit to Lady Tennyson at Aldworth, another to Dr. Warre at Eton, where he "stayed behind the rest of the party to walk through the playing fields"; some long and lively discussions of the Irish Land Bill with politicians; and attendance at the installation of his successor in the Wardenship of

* Diary, June 3, 1896.

the Cinque Ports, when his portrait was unveiled by Lord Salisbury. In September he was yachting on the French coast for a fortnight, with headquarters at Calais and Boulogne. He made an excursion to the field of Agincourt.

“ Had great difficulty in getting a conveyance to Fruges. Eventually a peasant drove me in his cart to the Calvary which has been erected over the trench in which the bodies of the French nobles and soldiers killed in the battle were buried.”

He took Crecy on his route to Paris.

“ Walked to the windmill mound where Edward the Third stood while the battle was going on. Then went down to a cross in the plain, stated to mark the spot where the King of Bohemia was slain. Afterwards spent several hours over the kitchen fire of the little pot-house in which I put up.”

In October the Russian Czar came to Paris from Balmoral ; but the *corps diplomatique* had little access to him ; nor did Lord Dufferin find an opportunity for private conversation with His Majesty. “ The behaviour of the French people ” (he wrote), “ though perfectly friendly and cordial, was dignified and correct ; ” the Emperor’s attitude was tinged with some reserve ; “ the Empress’s appearance and manner were perfect ; every one is full of her praises.”

October 9.—“ Up at 5 a.m. and started with Mr. Howard at half-past 6 in the military attachés’ train for Chalons to see the great review in honour of the Russian Emperor. On reaching the station the Russian ambassador gave me a seat in his carriage as far as the temporary headquarters, and from thence I drove with Montebello (the French ambassador to Russia) to the Emperor’s tribune, where I found a great number of my old Russian friends. The review was a splendid sight, terminating with a charge of 12,000 cavalry down hill.”

On October 13 Lord Dufferin presented his letters of

recall at the Elysée to the President of the French Republic, who received him very cordially. He left Paris with Lady Dufferin next day, when the long series of Lord Dufferin's voyages, adventures, his manifold experiences of men and cities, and his official transmigrations, closed finally with his arrival in London.

With the Queen's letter to him the narrative of his active public life may here fitly terminate—

October 28, 1896.—"It is a great sorrow to the Queen, and a great loss to the country that Lord Dufferin retires from Her service. He has for many years served Her so well, in so many important posts beginning as Her Lord-in-Waiting, that it seems almost impossible that he should be retiring into private life. She hopes he will often come to England, including Cowes. She also hopes that he will sometimes write to Her and tell Her about Ireland, the state of which seems greatly improved.

"The Queen read Lord Dufferin's speech at Belfast and greatly admired it."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LAST YEARS AT HOME.

IT is probable that no Englishman has ever finally relinquished high office, with all its anxieties and responsibilities, without a passing sense of depression. Accustomed to the exciting strain of important and urgent business, to the exercise of substantial influence over the world's affairs, to the demand upon him for rapid action or advice in emergencies, he steps across the official threshold into private life, and finds the prospect before him somewhat blank and uninteresting. In no sense can it well be said that, in his case, "resignation gently slopes the way," for his descent from public eminence is as abrupt as the ascent had been usually gradual and arduous. He can no longer lend a hand to Fortune in turning the great wheel of his country's destinies.

Some such feeling, one may conjecture, must have affected Lord Dufferin when, on quitting the Embassy at Paris, he looked back on a career so brilliant that it may have deepened the shadow of regret at its close. Yet he was a man of great courage and cheerfulness, with a fine elasticity of temper; and there is nothing on record to signify that he was not well pleased to escape from official harness, and to settle down at Clondeboy among his own people, who received him with great cordiality. The men of Ulster lost no time in doing full honour to their distinguished countryman, by giving him an enthusiastic welcome home. At the

end of October the Lord Mayor of Belfast (Mr. Pirrie) presided at a banquet in the Ulster Hall to Lord and Lady Dufferin, when he enlarged with patriotic pride before a great and representative assembly on "their deep obligation to one who had added another name to the roll of distinguished Irishmen." Lord Dufferin began his reply by reminding the audience that the seal of the Foreign Office was still on his lips, and that he could not risk disturbing the peace of Europe by interesting revelations of his diplomatic adventures. He then launched out, with characteristic adroitness, into a wide-ranging flight over the surface of foreign affairs, telling his hearers much that was good for them to know, but nothing that it might be inconvenient to divulge. They would probably be surprised, he said, to learn from him that at the present moment the English are not the most popular nation in Europe—

"Our natural instinct is to regard other countries with a lazy kind of good will, to be rather glad than otherwise at their well-being, certainly to sympathize keenly with their misfortunes. . . . We appreciate and admire the fine qualities of other people; we have no desire to quarrel with their governments. . . . Yet it is an astonishing fact that the Press of most Continental countries is more or less in the habit of alluding to us in language of uncompromising hostility, an hostility which is a bewildering enigma to the ordinary placable and good-humoured Englishman."

How was this puzzling fact to be explained?

In the first place, Lord Dufferin said, we Englishmen hardly take foreign politics seriously.

"Safe within the circle of our tutelary seas, we can form no conception of the haunting anxieties which embitter the existence of the nations of Central Europe, upon whose every frontier hangs, black and motionless, a threatening cloud of war. . . . With such a sword of Damocles hanging over each country's head, you can understand how angry all become at the thought of what they regard as the inconsiderate action of an outsider like ourselves precipitating the risk of universal disaster; and the very circum-

stance of our being out of the path of the storm is an additional subject of offence and irritation. . . . Europe is now divided into two independent confederacies, represented by the Dual and the Triple Alliances ; and each of these is alive to the effect which our co-operation on either side might have upon the result of a conflict ; and all are united in abusing what they call our selfish isolation, and our indifference to the vital interests which pre-occupy themselves."

The second cause of our unpopularity he found in the recent impulse toward colonial expansion, which has had so rapid and so curious a development within the last few years.—"The German or French emigrant, who sets out in pursuit of some fancied territorial tit-bit in Africa or elsewhere, suddenly finds himself confronted by an Englishman already standing sentry over the path."

The speaker turned next to the question of national defences.

"One conviction" (he said) "has been borne in upon me during my long contact with the outside world—that in spite of Christianity, civilization, of humanitarian philosophies, of the lessons of history and the bitter experience of the more recent past, force and not right is the dominant factor in human affairs. . . . It would be madness on our part to be so misled and deluded by that kind of amiable optimism which always prevails among people who have had no personal experience of the real, hard, cruel conditions of national existence, as not to maintain in full vigour, by sea and land, the preparations necessary for our own preservation."

In the long speech, from which these extracts have been taken, Lord Dufferin embodied some of the deliberate conclusions that he had formed upon actual knowledge and observation of Continental opinions, or it may be prejudices, regarding England ; and we have to remember that the lesson which he drew from them is a serious warning. At the end he acknowledged warmly his cordial reception in Belfast.

"All I can say is that if ever a servant of the Crown

returned under happy auspices to his ancient home and his early surroundings, that consummation has fallen to the lot of him who now thanks you with all the force that gratitude and sincerity can command for the unprecedented warmth of the welcome you have accorded him, and for this never-to-be-forgotten home-bringing."

Lord Dufferin was now established with his family at Clandeboye, taking part in country business and local gatherings, much occupied with his estate, planting, building, improving the house, and arranging his archæologic and artistic collection made at sundry times and in divers places during his sojourn in many lands. His Journal notes frequent shooting-parties at home and with neighbours, the opening of institutions, the reception of addresses from corporations, especially one from the citizens of Bangor, close to Clandeboye. When the townfolk of Newtownards congratulated him on the distinctions he had won, he answered that "the generous recognition of all public service is a characteristic of the English people."

He had resumed, in short, after a very long interval, the life of an active country gentleman; a notable figure at functions and festivities. For the lighter sort of literature he had always a ready pen; and about this time he wrote for *Scribner's Magazine* an article on Cabot's discovery of America; though he declined a proposal from Lord Acton that he should undertake for the Cambridge Universal History a chapter on "Our Oceanic Empire." So passed the winter and spring of 1897-8, varied by a few visits to neighbours and an excursion to Quilca—the little solitary house in the wilds of County Cavan where Swift used to stay for months with Dr. Sheridan.

In June he crossed over with Lady Dufferin to London, where he presided and spoke at the annual Civil Service dinner. After testifying, from his own experience, to the high standard of duty and devotion to their country's interest maintained by both English and Indian Civil servants, he said to them—

"I have not touched upon your greatest merit. I dare say that in your modesty you will wonder which it is of your many excellences I have failed to commemorate. Well, it is this—that in these days of endless platform speaking, and wearisome loquacity . . . you are a silent folk. You never break the hearts of reporters with your bad grammar, or exhaust the patience of public audiences with your platitudes. A great city which I recently visited was peopled with the statues of dead politicians, and every one of these marble effigies stood in an attitude of violent oratorical gesticulation. As I passed them one after another I said to myself, 'How little did all this sound and fury mean at the time, and how much greater a share those who are the mute servants of the State have contributed to the splendour and might of the empire than those whose resounding volubility has filled the air with an evanescent clamour!'"

The quotation shows the lively and humorous illustrations with which Lord Dufferin could garnish a speech that was well suited to the occasion; though if it were taken seriously the politicians might have used their volubility to some purpose in a rejoinder.

He soon found himself again at sea in his yacht, sailing round the fleet assembled at Spithead for the Jubilee review. After the royal Jubilee procession to St. Paul's ["weather perfect, and the sight the most brilliant and magnificent that I think I have ever seen"] he was presented at Bristol with the freedom of that city, and laid the foundation stone of a memorial tower to John Cabot. July was given up to yachting along the south coast of England as far west as Falmouth; and by August he was again at Clandeboye.

The latter years of Lord Dufferin's life provide little material for his biographer; they were spent for the most part at Clandeboye, with frequent journeys to London, where anxieties of a new and ill-omened sort began to gather round him; for in 1897 he had accepted the chairmanship of the London and Globe Finance Corporation, in succession to the late Sir William Robinson. Nevertheless, he took great pleasure in expeditions

to places associated with the memory of his family, and with his own early reminiscences.

To Lady Dufferin—

August 1898.—"At Hampton Court I spent a couple of hours visiting my old haunts—the chapel, the State apartments, Mrs. Sheridan's quarters, the Cardinal's Hall, the vinery, the canals, the lime avenues—everything; then I adjourned to the long grass stretch alongside of the river, where I found the solitude I sought. By this time it was five, so I repaired to where the boats are kept, and arranged to be taken up to Hampton by water. I never saw such a sight as the river was, crammed with wherries, canoes, punts, sailing-boats, house-boats, steam launches, and ladies everywhere; you can't conceive a brighter scene—the banks as crowded as the river with pretty dresses and pretty faces, some drinking tea on the trim lawns, or reading, or gathered into Boccaccio groups; it gave an idea of such a happy, healthy, innocent, well-to-do world. Then at Hampton I visited the church I remember so well, visited poor old Walton's grave, and his house, which I am glad to say they have called 'Walton House,' and one or two other familiar spots, and so back by train to London in time for dinner and for a letter to you before going to bed."

September 6, 1898, Bath.—"The day was perfectly beautiful, and most enjoyable. I have been shown over the whole town, have visited all Sheridan's and Miss Linley's haunts, the houses they inhabited, the grotto in which they flirted, and the Crescent from which she ran away with him, also the spot where he had his duel with Mathews."

His deafness was now increasing seriously; and his general health appears to have been declining; yet he was still ready to charge himself with duties that he conceived to be of public obligation. In October he presided, as Chancellor of the Royal Irish University, at the conferring of degrees, and delivered a long address. Next month he was at Edinburgh, where the freedom of the city was conferred on him and on Lord Kitchener.

To Lady Dufferin—

"They gave me a very good reception. Then we went to St. Giles' Cathedral, still arrayed in our red gowns and

velvet caps ; after which I was driven to the University ; and was told they hoped to have my picture in their Hall some day as Lord Rector. And now, Madam, allow me to recall to your mind my various titles to your respect, for I am now a Doctor of Oxford, Cambridge, Trinity, Dublin, Edinburgh, Harvard, St. Andrews, Laval, Lahore, Toronto University, and Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland."

The first days of 1900 were darkened for the family by a most grievous calamity. Lord Ava, the eldest son, had been attached as A.D.C. to Colonel Ian Hamilton, who was in command of a brigade at the battle of Elandslaagte (October 1899). In this action he carried orders to the Gordon Highlanders, and charged with them on foot in the fighting line. When, in January 1900, the Boers attacked the position held by the British troops on Waggon Hill, Lord Ava received a fatal wound, and died of it a few days afterwards, to the profound sorrow of his family, and of all who knew him in South Africa, where his "conspicuous gallantry" had been recognized. In April Lord Dufferin lost by a fatal illness his secretary, Mr. Macferran, who had been with him for twenty years, a faithful and devoted friend, in whom Lord Dufferin placed absolute trust, and to whom he was intimately attached. Just at this time, moreover, the mismanagement of the financial enterprises with which he had become connected in London had brought down upon him a heavy load of vexation and overpowering responsibilities.

In April Lord Dufferin had accompanied the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from Dublin to Kingston to attend the Queen's landing from England.

"I had done the same thing fifty years before in August 1849, when I was a Lord-in-waiting ; and then the Queen, on seeing me, sent word that I was to be in attendance on her so long as she was in Ireland. . . . The Queen was again very kind, and sent for me to speak to her."

In January (1901) he writes to Lady Dufferin—

"I am afraid the poor Queen must be really ill, but nothing is known in London beyond the official intimation that she must not do any business. In any event she will have both lived and reigned longer than any British monarch, and after Queen Elizabeth she is the most heroic woman in our history, and a far better and more lovable woman than Elizabeth was."

Not many days afterwards he was lamenting the death of a sovereign with whom his personal and public relations had been close and confidential since his early manhood, and with whose reign his whole official career had been identified. The invitation to the funeral ceremony in St. George's Chapel came by some accident so late that he was obliged to leave Clandeboye at a few hours' notice, reached London much fatigued, and found his way through a great crowd next day to the railway station for Windsor.

"On entering the Chapel I waited, miserably cold and in a great draught, for nearly three hours. I was already threatened with an attack upon my chest, and this I thought would finish me, but though I was perished at the time I am now none the worse. . . . At last, however, the doors were flung open; the Duke of Norfolk with his heralds fluttering round him entered, and soon after came the coffin. As it passed before me I could think of nothing but the poor dear Lady who was lying within it, who had been so kind a friend to me for fifty years, and had never changed, writing me such kind letters almost to the end of her days. Indeed, so absorbed was I in these thoughts, that the throng of princes who followed passed quite unobserved, and I did not come to myself until all that was left me to look at was the tail of the procession. . . .

"My one poor eye is dotted over with spots, so that I can hardly read, and the oculist I consulted is not very consolatory, but I am in hopes it is only worry and fatigue."

From this time onward Lord Dufferin was contending against irresistible adversity, though he confronted the slings and arrows of misfortune with unabated intrepidity. It is clear that not only his general health,

but also his sight and hearing, had become seriously affected. In December 1900, on learning by telegraph that his son Frederick, who was serving with the 9th Lancers in South Africa, had been seriously wounded, Lord Dufferin at once took a passage for himself and Lady Dufferin to the Cape, and sent in his resignation of the chairmanship of his companies. But within a few days came the failure of the London and Globe Corporation ["an indescribable calamity which will cast a cloud over the remainder of my life"]; and Lord Dufferin, although he was advised by his colleagues on the Board that a postponement of his departure was unnecessary, cancelled immediately his resignation of the chairmanship, abandoned his voyage to the Cape, and insisted on presiding at the meeting of the shareholders in January 1901, when about two thousand of them were present.

In a long letter of reply and explanation to a shareholder, who had written to him in a friendly and generous spirit, and to whom he had offered some indemnity for loss by the investment, he mentions that "from time to time I have been addressed in similar terms by others, though happily not many, to whose assistance I have come to the best of my straitened ability."

After the meeting Lord Dufferin wrote to Sir Richard Garnett—

"Anything more generous than the conduct of our shareholders you cannot imagine. Instead of tearing me to pieces as I expected, the two thousand gentlemen assembled in Cannon Street received me as if I had been Lord Roberts. One is proud of such an incident for the sake of human

And to Lady Dufferin—

"Your letters are my greatest comfort. You have been everything to me in my prosperous days, and they have been many; and now you are even more to me in my adversity. But what I feel so dreadfully is that your life

should be thus suddenly over-shadowed, just as we thought to enjoy the evening sunshine of our days in our happy home."

Sir Edward Grey wrote, some time afterwards, to Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson—

"The knowledge of the spirit in which Lord D. faced all the troubles in the last few years has stirred me very much. . . . I understood how wonderfully all the qualities of his fine spirit, kindness, sympathy, and unfailing courage stood out. Adversity set them in relief, and made one see how strong they were, and how fine-tempered was the metal."

In the midst of these troubles, and notwithstanding the recurrence of increasing illness, Lord Dufferin was still resolutely bent on discharging public duties and fulfilling engagements. He was one of the delegates from the Royal University of Ireland to the Glasgow convocation in June, where a degree was conferred upon him. In October he conferred degrees and delivered, as Chancellor, an address at the same University in Dublin; and on the evening of that day he travelled straight to Oxford, drove to Cumnor Church for the unveiling of a window to the memory of the late Sir W. Hunter, and presided at the ceremony of placing his bust in the Indian Institute at Oxford.* On his return to London a sudden illness confined him to his room in a hotel for the next fortnight. As soon as he could leave his bed he set off with Lady Dufferin for Edinburgh, where he was expected to deliver his address as Lord Rector of the University. Sir W. Broadbent, who attended him in London, warned him that he was too weak and ill to keep such an engagement without real danger; but Lord Dufferin replied that he should not be the first Englishman who had taken risks of that sort in doing his duty. The result justified the warning, for the exer-

* It was there that I saw Lord Dufferin for the last time. He was standing on Magdalen Bridge, looking down the stream toward the sunset, absorbed, as it seemed to me, in the remembrance of bygone days.—A. C. L.

tions of the journey, of reading the address before a boisterous audience who were quite unaware of his condition, and of taking part in other public functions, must have fatally overtaxed his strength, which had been already much lowered by the illness against which he had been persistently fighting. The rest of the story is told in a memorandum that was appended by Lady Dufferin to the last page of her husband's Journal.

November 11.—"We left for Edinburgh, and Dufferin did the journey very comfortably, and did not seem very tired. I was in no anxiety at all about him, and he was reading after dinner, when he suddenly seemed to be ill, and I rang and sent for a doctor. We got Dr. Murdoch Brown, and he was very kind and attentive all the time we were in Edinburgh.

"The fact of his having to give an address to the Edinburgh students had been a great anxiety and strain upon him, and he had been obliged to finish it and to think about it while he was ill in London, and now that the time had come to deliver it, he was really quite unfit for the effort. He was ill all the 12th and 13th, but managed to see a few people, and to stand at the window to see the torchlight procession of students pass.

November 14.—"He gave the address. He looked desperately ill, and there was something tragic in seeing him stand up before the immense audience of gay and somewhat noisy students, the professors, and people of Edinburgh, when he was so weak and unfit for the effort. He was obliged to sit down to read most of it, but he rose again to finish it. Even after this he would not give in, but would do all he had promised to do. We drove over to the Students' Union, where we had a cup of tea and a short rest, and then he went up to the concert-room and sat through a few songs. Then I got him home and to bed. He had again to go out to the theatre for an hour. In the night I had to send for the doctor as he was in great pain.

November 15.—"He remained in bed till the evening, when he got up and went to reply to a toast at the Conservative Students' Banquet. He quite revived for this, and made a most successful and amusing speech, and was himself enthusiastically received. This was his last speech and last appearance in public.

November 16.—"He was able to remain quiet all day, and we left Edinburgh in the evening. The students came to see him off, and showed the greatest good feeling in saving him as much as possible and in not pressing upon him or being too noisy.

November 17, Sunday.—"We arrived at Belfast early in the morning, and drove out to Clondeboyne. It was a bright rather frosty morning, and Dufferin quite enjoyed the air, and felt that it did him good.

"From this time forward, though I did not realize it for some time, he gradually failed.

December 30.—"He went his last little walk with me. We got as far as the Lake, and when returning by the garden he got exhausted, and had to lean up against a tree.

December 31.—"He had set his heart on shooting at the first stand, and although quite unfit for it, he got up and drove to the place. We had a chair for him there, and he shot wonderfully well, but he looked frightfully ill, and was terribly exhausted. He did not go to bed on his return, but sat quietly in the library, the last day he was ever downstairs. He failed rapidly from this time."

Sir William Broadbent came to Clondeboyne early in January, having spontaneously undertaken the journey from London, as a friend, to see Lord Dufferin, by whom his unflinching care and kindness were most warmly appreciated.

January 18.—"He seemed better, and I went to Knock for a few hours to open a hall there. When I returned at five he was reading his letters, and was much startled by finding that he could not see to read the last one. This troubled him a good deal. Next morning he could see again, but as a matter of fact he read very little after this.

"From this time the doctors gave up hope. He was told this, but when I went in after he had heard it, I found him perfectly calm and cheerful. He thought I did not know the truth about him, and appeared as usual to me. His sufferings and discomforts increased rapidly, but he was never impatient, was always thoughtful for others, and continually thinking of me. He had business cares and anxieties to the last, but never did he say an unkind word about any one.

February 4.—"The Dean of Down came and gave the

Sacrament to him and me. I knelt by him and said the prayers so that he could hear me. He said the service had been a great comfort to him.

"During the last few days of his life he said many things and left many messages which are a lasting comfort and memorial to me and to all his children.

"It was only the day of the 11th that he was unconscious—that night he remained in heavy sleep, and at 6.30 on the morning of the 12th he passed peacefully away."

If the two final years be struck out of his account, Lord Dufferin's life may be reckoned to have been singularly happy and fortunate. He began it with all the advantages of rank and ample means, with the gift of lively wit and great personal attractiveness that had been inherited from a charming mother; and with the privilege of welcome entry into the choicest English society, which is not only pleasant for a young man to live in, but can also be influential for the advancement of his interests. In all these respects he made good use of his opportunities; and he enjoyed his youth thoroughly, although the serious and reflective element in his character always kept dissipation or frivolity within reasonable bounds. From his early manhood his strenuous activity of mind and body found manifold employment; in political questions at home, in the condition of Ireland especially and the management of his estate; and in adventurous voyages abroad. He made himself a good sportsman and a consummate sailor; he applied himself ardently to literary and artistic studies; he had a curiosity for archæologic research. In all his pursuits, indeed, he was methodical, industrious, and remarkably persevering. The amazing labour which he underwent in teaching himself Persian has been proved by some entries quoted from his diary. Yet, though he had a superior command of his own language in speech and writing, he could never attain any facility in a foreign tongue.

With drawing he began at the first elements; in sailing, for which he had a passion, he mastered every detail,

from the knots in the ropes to scientific navigation ; and there are books filled with the calculations that he worked out in learning the noble art of seamanship ; though he used to declare that he could never repeat correctly the multiplication table.

His keen sympathetic interest, his sensibility to the feelings of others, made and kept for him many intimate friends ; and never was friendship better merited, nor family affection more thoroughly earned or reciprocated. That he had, in fact, the faculty of insight into character, and could judge men with great discrimination, is attested by all who were associated with him in administration and diplomacy. With the genuine amiability that made him always desire to please and amuse in society, he combined a subtlety of perception, and the power of keeping a vigilant guard on his words in the freedom of conversation. As an ambassador he left upon foreign officials the impression of a master in the diplomatic art, "*très fin, un peu retors même,*" whose point it was not easy for an adversary to discover and parry. In the discharge of high offices he never spared himself ; he acted under the most earnest conviction of responsibility not only to the government that he was serving, but also to the nation ; his sense of public duty was a part of his ardent patriotism. "It is a bad habit," he would say, "to think ill of your country." His valuation of official trustworthiness and capacities was very seldom wrong, though toward the close of his life he made one ruinous mistake in dealing with a class of business of which he had no experience. But he once wrote that in public and private affairs it had always been his rule, where he had given his confidence, to give it absolutely ; and on this occasion it was lamentably misplaced.

It will have been the fault of Lord Dufferin's biographer if the foregoing narrative of his whole life has not already furnished sufficient evidence of his possession of these qualities, or has failed to bring out in relief the nobility of his character, his inbred kindness and

generosity, and the deep impression that he made, and has left, upon all who knew him well, and especially upon those who worked with him.

From a speech * delivered by the late Mr. W. H. Lecky, a man of the highest intellectual acumen, and by no means inclined to overpraise, the following extract referring to Lord Dufferin is taken :—

“In the long period which has passed since our dinner was first conceived some of our members have passed away. We have lost perhaps the greatest name of all—that of Lord Dufferin, who was Viceroy of India when our guest became Commander-in-Chief, and who was one of the first to welcome our project. He was a great diplomatist and a great statesman; a man who possessed to a degree that was hardly equalled by any of his contemporaries, the qualities of brilliancy and the qualities of charm; a man of unequalled tact and versatility, and who combined with these gifts a rare sagacity of judgment, and a singularly firm and tenacious will. I remember that one who served with him in India once said that what struck him most was that Lord Dufferin seemed always to carry his point, yet he never seemed to be in antagonism with any one; and this rare gift of carrying out great works with the minimum of friction was perhaps the most distinctive feature of his great career.”

Some personal recollections of service with Lord Dufferin in Indian administration and in diplomacy, have been kindly placed at the disposal of the writer of this memoir by Sir Henry Mortimer Durand and Sir Charles Hardinge.

From Sir Henry Mortimer Durand.

“I first met Lord Dufferin in the early seventies, before I went out to India. I was dining one night at Argyll Lodge, and after the ladies left us I found myself next to him. He was then in the prime of life, and a singularly attractive man. His lisp and eye-glass, and his extremely courteous, perhaps slightly punctilious manner—the manner

* At a banquet to Lord Roberts (July 1902).

of a man who had mixed much with foreign diplomatists—gave me at first an impression of affectation, but this soon wore off. He talked well and pleasantly, and I was much interested. I think I never saw him again until he landed in India in 1884. I was in attendance as Foreign Secretary at Government House when Lord Dufferin arrived, and I saw him sworn in. He made a very favourable impression upon every one. Though no longer a young man, he looked little older than when I first met him. He had still the clean-cut figure and upright carriage of twelve years before, and his easy dignified manner and well-fitting uniform were prepossessing. I was anxious to know whether he would be as good at business as he was in ceremonial duties. My first business interview practically set my doubts at rest. He received me with the courteous manner which never deserted him, and at the same time with a warmth and cheeriness which set me completely at ease.

"At his request I explained to him in detail the work of the Indian Foreign Office, and his questions and remarks about it were entirely to the point. He was prompt and judicious with regard to our external policy. The Afghan Boundary Commission was on the disputed frontier when he took charge; and he determined at once to get the Amir down to India and if possible to come to a better understanding with him. The Amir came down; and it can hardly be doubted that his being with us in Râwal Pindi when the 'Panjdeh incident' took place, was the main reason why that very untoward affair did not bring on war with Russia.

"However this may be, Lord Dufferin certainly gained a great personal influence over the Amir. It was interesting to see them together, the suave polished diplomat on one side, and on the other the 'strange strong creature,' as Lord Dufferin called him, who was such a typical exponent of the policy of blood and iron. To the end of his life the Amir never ceased to speak in high terms of Lord Dufferin. He did so to me more than once when I was in Kabul in 1893, and in spite of his many troublesome proceedings, I feel sure the interview of 1885 had a lasting effect upon the Amir's policy.

"Readiness was one of Lord Dufferin's most prominent characteristics. He was a quick-witted Irishman, and I was often struck by the rapidity with which he saw the points of a case, and formed conclusions, and right con-

clusions, on complicated matters. He was specially quick in his judgment of character. With all his kindness of heart he had by nature an almost uncanny '*flair*' for anything like insincerity or weakness, and he had carefully trained himself by practice. His manner had perhaps a tendency to draw men out and put them off their guard. I used to watch him with amusement as he quietly 'sized up' the various people I had to introduce to him in the course of our work. When an interview was over he would say, 'Well, Durand, I will tell you what I think of him,' and he would proceed to give me a character sketch, which in the case of several men whom I knew intimately, surprised me by its minute correctness. I believe that his misjudgment in one unlucky instance toward the end of his life must have been due in part to the failure of his physical powers. When I last saw him his brain seemed as clear and keen as ever, but he had become very deaf and his sight was going. You know how often an expression just crossing a man's face, or a momentary inflection in his voice, gives one a sudden insight into his character. But however this may be, I am sure that during the four years Lord Dufferin spent in India, when I was constantly with him, his judgment of character was singularly quick and accurate. It was one of the most remarkable things about him, and contributed perhaps more than anything to his great success.

"Speaking of his quickness of perception reminds me that in certain ways he seemed to be slow. He was a North of Ireland man, and caution was as marked a feature in his character as intellectual readiness. Even in small things he had at times great difficulty in reaching a conclusion. I have known him spend days of thought and labour over the wording of a short telegram, which some men would have written off without a moment's hesitation. But this apparent slowness was not the slowness of an infirm mind. He formed strong opinions and held to them. It was the result of a habit of looking far ahead, and providing with minute care for all possible eventualities. Until he had thought out a subject, and felt that he knew his ground, he would not move. His caution and sagacity were of great use to him.

"Moreover, in such matters as the wording of a despatch or telegram he was extremely particular to get the exact shade of meaning he wanted. He had a keen sense of

artistic finish, and also he knew how easily a wrong impression may be given, and difficulties arise in consequence.

"With all this care and labour over the work he chose to do he combined a certain carelessness, more apparent than real, about the ordinary business of the Indian government. I sometimes tried in vain to get him to look into cases which seemed to me rather important. 'My dear fellow,' he used to say, 'I really cannot go into that. Life is too short.' It tried his eyes to read much, and he was careful to reserve himself for the really important things. The rest he left to his subordinates. Perhaps he went a little too far sometimes in his dislike of detail, but it was a sound principle. He knew he could not do everything, and he expected others to do all they could, and to take responsibility. He was always ready to back them. One of the points in a man's character upon which Lord Dufferin laid most stress was reticence. He could not stand a man who was talkative and indiscreet. He did not even like his most trusted subordinates to talk to each other about any matter he had discussed with them separately. It seems to me that there was nothing he valued more than a capacity for silence.

"Personally, I really enjoyed my work with him. He had such kindly, pleasant ways, and such a delightfully keen sense of humour, that a business interview with him was never wearisome. Moreover, he had seen much, and could talk in a very interesting way about men and things. Off business he was a delightful companion, one of the few men I have known who had real wit. His wit too was never malicious. Nothing was more transparent about him than his kindness of heart, and though he was by nature rather impatient of dulness, he had brought himself to be very gentle and tolerant to men who meant well, even if they were stupid and made mistakes. He would pull himself up and correct himself if he seemed to have said anything unkind. He did not, however, easily forgive men whom he thought aggressive or untrustworthy, and he could in his polite way say things which hit very hard.

"He had a quick temper, but it was almost always under control, and his irritation was short-lived. He was generous and placable, and would meet an apology more than half way with a quickness and warmth which were very charming.

He had a touch of genial blarney about him, but men were wrong who thought him insincere. He liked to give pleasure. No doubt he also knew how useful it was; but he was in reality upright and loyal, with a high sense of honour. I always admired that in him, particularly the pride he had in being a gentleman, and doing nothing that would be or seem inconsistent with the honour of a gentleman. He valued his reputation very highly, not only as a man of honour, but in all ways. He had the 'last infirmity of noble mind,' and liked men to think well of him. He was acutely sensitive to criticism, especially the criticisms of the newspapers, which at times worried him greatly. When in Paris, after leaving India, he spoke to me with much indignation about the attacks of the French papers. In India I once said to him that I did not understand why he cared about the publication by the Indian press of certain false statements, which could do no harm. He answered that no man could afford to let falsehoods pass without contradiction, and he advised me not to do so myself, nor to despise criticism, however ignorant and unjust.

"I have mentioned the dignity of his manners. This was useful to him in dealing with native chiefs, and indeed with all Orientals, who admired him greatly for it. There was something of the Oriental in his stately graveness and respect for ceremonial. He was at his very best on occasions of Durbars, investitures, and the like. He saw the humour of them as much as any one, but he held that such things if done should be well done, and he enjoyed doing them. It irritated him to see men giggling or jeering instead of acting their parts properly, and he disliked anything that savoured of want of self-respect. He never affected a contempt for decorations. It gave him real pleasure, I think, to wear the close-fitting red uniform which showed off his figure so well, the breast festooned with collars and stars carefully arranged to hang in the most graceful and effective manner.

"With all his cosmopolitan way and freedom from insular prejudices, Lord Dufferin was full of patriotism and of pride in his country. He believed that Englishmen were at least the equals of any people in the world; and there was much more in it than this. The interests and the honour of England, or rather of Great Britain—for he always corrected me when I spoke of England and the English—

were very dear to him. Many a time he rejoiced me by the way he spoke on the subject.

"His perseverance was great. When he came out to India he took up Persian, expecting to find it the *lingua franca* of the country, and the way he toiled at it was really astonishing, the more so that he had no ear for languages. I believe he went on working at Persian to the end of his life.

"All beauty appealed to him. He had genuine artistic feeling, and in several directions a trained taste. He cared little for the pleasures of the table or any ordinary indulgences. He ate sparingly, and hardly touched wine. He would light a cigarette after dinner, *pour encourager les autres*, but he did not smoke it.

"Lord Dufferin once your friend was always your friend, and a very warm-hearted one. After he left India I did not see him for some years, until I went over to spend a day or two with him in Paris. I found him as kind and cordial as ever, and so it remained to the end. Shortly after I was appointed ambassador in Spain he passed through London on his way, I think, from Scotland to the Continent. I was staying at a hotel, and was surprised about ten o'clock at night by the door of my sitting-room being opened and Lord Dufferin walking in. He said an old butler of his had told him of my being in London, and that he could not pass through without coming to congratulate me. It was just like him.

"Altogether Lord Dufferin seemed to me to be much more than a very successful man. I have heard it said that his intellect was brilliant and versatile rather than deep. Perhaps this is true in a sense. He was a man of affairs and of the world rather than a profound thinker. Nevertheless he had great abilities; he thought much, and above all he had character in an unusual degree. I may be biassed in my judgment, for I had a strong personal affection for him, but I believe him to have been a man of very rare qualities, whose great reputation in the public service was by no means in excess of his desert. Certainly that is the view held by foreign diplomatists, from Frenchmen to Persians. I have often heard them speak of him, and always in the same terms, as the model of an English gentleman, who upheld his country's interests with courage and skill, and was at the same time the kindest and most loyal of colleagues."

From Sir Charles Hardinge.

"You ask me to note anything that struck me in Lord Dufferin as a Chief, and I only wish that I could adequately express all that I think of him. It is *banal* to talk of his kindness and thoughtfulness of all his subordinates as they are so well known, but what always struck me was his great sense of fairness and justice. He never did anybody an unkind turn.

"As regards the work of his staff he gave them complete liberty as to when it was done and by whom, provided that it was well done, and there were no petty or harassing rules restricting hours of leisure such as I have seen enforced elsewhere with unsatisfactory results. The result was that the work was never in arrear, and, as far as I know, was always well done.

"While exacting as regards the quality of the work done, he was at the same time a real friend to his secretaries, and I know that we were all ready to, and actually did, confide in him and consult him on all our little petty aims and ambitions, in which he invariably interested himself with friendly sympathy and did his best to render assistance.

"I feel almost ashamed to have expressed in so inadequate a manner the very great veneration and affection which I feel for a Chief whom I am so proud to have served, and whose memory I shall always cherish as a priceless treasure. As I sit writing here, in a place formerly occupied by him, his picture is before me, and within a few feet of me, on the wall, and my one hope and prayer is that I may in all ways be able to emulate his noble example."

Lord Dufferin's last letter, dictated two days before his death, to Lord Salisbury, may bring this biography to its close—

"Clandeboyne, February 9, 1902.

"DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

"Being, as the doctors seem to say, on my death-bed, I desire, while I still have my wits about me, to place in your hands my resignation of the Chancellorship of the Royal University of Ireland, as well as the Lieutenancy of this country. I suppose that under these circumstances ill-health will be regarded as a valid excuse. I desire also

* To Lady Dufferin.

to thank you for the great kindness and consideration you have never failed to show me since the time you started me in my diplomatic career, for having kept the Italian Embassy so long open for me, and for innumerable acts of kindness. I do not think you ever knew how much I liked you from the time you were a thin, frail, little lower boy at Cookesley's, even then writing, as my tutor used to say, such clever essays.

"This is all I have strength to say. Good-bye, and God bless you.*

"Ever yours,

"DUFFERIN AND AVA."

It is intensely characteristic of Lord Dufferin that at such a time his thoughts should have gone back to an old friend, and to the work in which they had been associated; and that his farewell to his former colleague and chief, and to the world's affairs, touched with a strain of pathetic humour, should have been full of kindly and grateful recollections.

APPENDIX (p. 453).

The Countess of Dufferin's Fund.

BEFORE Lady Dufferin's departure from England the Queen had spoken earnestly to her on the question of endeavouring to relieve the sufferings, in sickness and childbearing, of Indian women. On her arrival in India Lady Dufferin began at once to inquire what had hitherto been done, and to consider ways and means for doing much more. She found that although efforts had been made in a few places to provide hospitals and medical attendance for women, yet that, taking India as a whole, there was a lamentable

* Lord Salisbury replied by telegraph to Lady Dufferin—"Pray tell him, if I am in time, how much I grieve for what he tells me of his condition, how much I thank him for his kind words and many kindnesses to me, and for invaluable co-operation during many years in various parts of the public service."

deficiency, that the native practice was bad, and that there was a great need of effective organization. The plan that she adopted was to propose an association, whose single object should be to train up and otherwise provide female doctors, nurses, and midwives. A prospectus was accordingly published and circulated throughout India, with appeals for support and general co-operation, and in August 1885 an association was inaugurated at Simla under the name of "The National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India."

Lady Dufferin was made President, the Viceroy Patron, and Her Majesty telegraphed her willingness to be the Royal Patron. It was determined that all contributions of money to the Association should be credited to "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund."

The first general meeting, held at Calcutta in January 1886, was largely attended by the European and native community of Calcutta. Lord Dufferin, who presided on the occasion, said that he regarded the meeting as one of the most important ever held in India, as upon its successful issue a vast amount of human happiness was dependent. The object of the Association in its ultimate development, he said, was "to supply the women of the land from one end of it to the other, with proper medical advice and attendance, under conditions consonant to their own most cherished ideas, feelings, and wishes. . . . Our ambition is eventually to furnish every district, no matter how remote, if not with a supply of highly trained doctors, at all events with nurses, midwives, and female medical assistants, who shall have such an acquaintance with their business as to be a great improvement upon those who are now employed."

Lady Dufferin notes in her Journal—

"This was a great day for me and rather a nervous one. I never felt so much anxiety at a public meeting before, but now this scheme is really started, and I trust it may go on as well as it has begun."

The Association did, in fact, spread and take root throughout all the Indian provinces, with branches in the chief cities; while in the Native States it was welcomed and liberally supported by the ruling chiefs. It has now become a self-supporting and genuinely national institution, which has substituted a high standard of medical treatment for ignorance and unskilfulness in a very important department of therapeutics, and will permanently commemorate Lady

Dufferin's name as a friend and benefactress among the women of India.

On December 4, 1888, the *purda-nashin* ladies of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar presented Lady Dufferin with an address at Government House. When Her Excellency consented to receive the deputation she had expected it would be quite small, and out of consideration for the ladies she had sent away all her aides-de-camp and menservants, having arranged that her daughters should meet the deputation at the door and take them to the throne-room, where the reception was to be held. The ladies began to arrive an hour before time and before any one was ready to receive them, and came in such crowds that there were no chairs for them, and as there were no men to bring chairs the scene was one of confusion. Standing room was, however, found for all the seven hundred who came. Then Lady Bayley read the address on behalf of the deputation. In her reply Lady Dufferin said—

"I am quite sure that no one in the fulfilment of a plain duty has ever received so great a reward as I have, in the sympathy and appreciation of those for whom I have tried to do something, and in the rapid progress and success of the work I undertook. That work is founded upon love and common sense, and built upon such sure foundations it cannot fail. If it has been my happy privilege to draw attention to the remediable sufferings and to the wants of the women of India, it is the quick response to that appeal emanating from the hearts and minds of their countrymen which has made the amelioration of their lot a reality and not a dream. . . . I shall have no greater pleasure in returning to England than that of conveying to Her Majesty the Queen Empress your expressions of loyalty and gratitude, and in assuring Her Majesty of the stability and the vitality of the work in which she has taken so great and active an interest. Again I thank you with all my heart for your kindness to myself, and I pray that every year that passes may add to the happiness, may diminish the suffering, and may improve the condition of the women of India."

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